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COURTLY LOVE SONGS OF MEDIEVAL FRANCE

TRANSMISSION AND STYLE IN THE
TROUVÈRE REPERTOIRE



Mary O'Neill

OXFORD MONOGRAPHS ON MUSIC

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MARY O'NEILL

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PREFACE

The repertoire of trouvère song is one of the first substantial repertoires of secular music to have been notated. Surviving in some twenty principal manuscripts that transmit text and music, this repertoire is a testament to aspects of musical taste and culture in twelfth- and thirteenth-century France. Music scholarship (as ever) has lagged behind literary scholarship, although this is, at least in part, due to particular problems associated with the sources and their musical notation. The texts of these lyric works (and I use the word lyric in the sense of something made to be expressed in song) continue to be a focus of literary, cultural, and historical interest, but until a greater understanding of the music is arrived at, the repertoire remains only partially understood. Because in a sense this book is redressing an imbalance in scholarship, the weighting will necessarily be more on matters pertaining to musical aspects of the repertoire with a view to opening the way to future study involving a more equal balance of both text and music.

A flurry of musicological interest in the songs of the troubadours and trouvères by early twentieth-century scholars resulted in a few facsimile editions and some well-meaning but poor modern editions of a few of the manuscripts with the main protagonist editors almost coming to physical blows (there was a tragic incident relating to a duel) about who would be the first to unlock the 'secret code' of the rhythmic interpretation of trouvère song. It was not until the 1970s that a substantial proportion of the repertoire was made available for the first time in a comparative critical edition by Hendrik van der Werf (MMA, vols. 11–12) that presented all the variants of the melodies by the eleven trouvères it featured. This publication exploded many of the myths created by the earlier scholars, in particular with regard to the question of 'rhythmic' interpretation. Van der Werf took the less interventionist route of transcribing the songs without imposing any rhythmic theory of his own. Most other studies of the repertoire since then have adopted the same approach but there have always been followers of the notion that all of these melodies should be provided with a rhythmic interpretation. Chief among these is Hans Tischler, who has had considerable influence, on the performing world in particular, through his widely available anthology *Chanter m'estuet* (1981) that he co-edited with Rosenberg. In 1997, twenty years after the van der Werf edition, Tischler produced a new comparative edition (in 15 large volumes) of the entire trouvère repertoire.

This is tremendously valuable as a reference tool in some respects because it presents the whole repertoire for the first time, complete with full texts and multiple versions of the melodies but it is to be regretted that the editor has chosen to impose his own rhythmic interpretations on all the melodies. Despite these editions and other recent worthy anthologies, crucial questions still need to be addressed, including the issue of multiple variants of songs, which remains one of the principal hurdles for performers and scholars.

Literary scholars have for some time recognized the crucial role of orality in medieval studies; in musicology, its role is increasingly being recognized in chant scholarship but while the issue has been raised in the context of some secular repertoires, it has not to date been given full consideration in *trouvère* song. Here, the question of orality (as it impinges on the generative process, transmission, and performance practice) informs aspects of investigation, not least the manner in which we should approach analysis of the repertoire.

This book addresses some of the central problems of the repertoire as a whole embracing source studies, interpretation, historiography, and analysis. The argument of the book revolves around three axes, each of which is essential to an appreciation of the others: problems concerning the manuscript tradition; the role of orality; and stylistic change and plurality in the repertoire. Any true understanding of 'style' (both in relation to stylistic changes during the course of the thirteenth century, and in relation to the detailed analysis of individual works or canons) is contingent upon an understanding of the place of each extant source within the manuscript tradition and the crucial role of orality, particularly in the early repertoire. Likewise, certain aspects of the manuscript tradition can only fully be appreciated by taking account of questions of orality and stylistic change.

The problematic question of 'rhythm' that has commanded inordinate attention in musicological studies of the *trouvère* repertoire, is not a *central* concern here. Given the chronological range of *trouvère* song, and in the light of stylistic diversity within the courtly *chanson* repertoire, the search for a single solution is, in any case, I believe, misguided. Nonetheless the discussions of notation, of orality, and of stylistic changes have important implications for the question of rhythmic interpretation in relation to different parts of the repertoire.

The vast majority of the songs which lie at the centre of this study are *chansons d'amour*: the principal focus is on the so-called 'high-style' courtly love song, the *chanson courtoise* or *grant chant* (which makes up the bulk of the extant repertoire), but lighter-style love songs (such as the *pastourelle*) are also considered. A basic premise of this study is that for the period in question, from the early generation of *trouvères* in the late twelfth century to the last generation of *trouvères* in the latter part of the thirteenth century, there is no single, continu-

ous *chanson courtoise* style, and that a principal vehicle for stylistic change was the melody. The discussion centres around the works of some six or seven trouvères, selected because they are either seminal figures in the repertoire as a whole, or are representative in some respect of their generation.

All of the illustrations used in this book were consulted at first hand in the manuscript sources, but I am extremely grateful, in particular, for the pioneering and inspiring work of van der Werf and the following editors of trouvère texts: Danon, Cullmann, Dyggve, Marshall, Nelson, Newcombe, Raugi and Rosenberg. Full references to their work are provided in the bibliography. The numbers used in referring to the songs are derived from Raynaud/Spanke (R/S) for the trouvère repertoire, and Pillet/Carstens (P/C) for the troubadour repertoire, except for those numbers used to refer to individual tables in the text. Symbols indicating the rhyming, metrical, and large-scale musical structures are as follows: lower case roman characters are used for the rhyme scheme, lower case italic for the large-scale musical structure; refrains in both music and text are indicated by underlined characters; feminine rhymes are indicated by the addition of a prime to the lower case roman character, and by the addition of a superscript 6+ to the syllable count (e.g. a', 6+ indicates a feminine rhyme in a six-syllable line). References to particular points in the music are based on identification of text syllables, e.g. 2.4–2.6 refers to the melody from line 2, fourth syllable to line 2, sixth syllable. To avoid possible ambiguity, the term 'text' will only be used to refer to the poetic text alone and will not be used to refer to either the musical 'text' or the lyric 'text' (i.e. the combination of poetic text and music). Finally, it should be pointed out that the schematic representation of melodic form found in various tables is intended only to represent patterns of large-scale melodic repetition: more subtle aspects of melodic structure are discussed in the analyses of individual songs.

My research has been greatly facilitated by the staff of the following libraries and institutions, who extended every facility during periods spent working there: the Musikwissenschaftliches Institut and the Universitätsbibliothek in Basle, the Burgerbibliothek in Berne, the Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal in Paris, the Bibliothèque Municipale in Arras, the Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale in Florence, the Biblioteca Ambrosiana in Milan, the Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana in Rome, the Biblioteca Comunale in Siena, the British Library and the Senate House Library in London, the Music Faculty and University libraries in Cambridge, the Taylorian Institute and Bodleian Library in Oxford, and the Barber Institute Library in Birmingham. I am particularly grateful to the staff of the Bibliothèque Nationale de France for many happy hours spent there working with the manuscript sources, and for permission to reproduce the material in the plates.

I am grateful to many colleagues who have inspired me or have been good sparring partners at various stages in the course of my research. These include David Wulstan, who introduced me to medieval music when I was 16; Wulf Arlt, for invaluable insight into broader issues of medieval music from which I benefited while holding a Council of Europe Research Award at the Musikwissenschaftliches Institut of the University of Basle; the late John Stevens, who supervised my doctoral dissertation at Cambridge, and the other Cambridge colleagues who sat around the fire in John's wonderful rooms at Magdalene College discussing the vital questions of medieval monophony over a civilized glass of wine; and John Caldwell and Christopher Page for their kind comments about my Ph.D. dissertation. It is also a pleasure to record my thanks to Michel Huglo for a number of illuminating discussions on the question of liquescence and medieval notations. I especially want to acknowledge the huge debt of gratitude I owe to the many wonderful performers with whom I have discussed or experimented with this repertoire over the years. I hope they in turn derive some inspiration from this book.

To the numerous people who have read earlier and later versions of this work, I am extremely grateful. Any infelicities that remain are all mine. I am hugely grateful for the encouragement, perseverance, and efficiency of OUP's editorial team and in particular to the current Music Books Editor, Sarah Holmes; to Amanda Greenley and her production team; and to the proofreader, Fiona Barry. It was an enormous privilege and benefit to have the distinguished scholar Bonnie Blackburn as copy-editor of this book, and I also wish to acknowledge Andrea Bornstein at the University of Rome for his excellent work in rendering into electronic format the musical examples and artwork. Finally, to my wonderful family and friends, including absent ones, I am eternally grateful for their loving support.

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ABBREVIATIONS

Sigla of Manuscripts

A	Arras, Bibliothèque municipale, MS 657, fos. 129–60
B	Berne, Burgerbibliothek, MS 231
K	Paris, Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal, MS 5198
L	Paris, BNF f. fr. 765, fos. 48–63
M	Paris, BNF f. fr. 844 (Roi)
Mt	Thibaut de Champagne collection in Roi, fo. 13 and fos. 59–77
N	Paris, BNF f. fr. 845
O	Paris, BNF f. fr. 846 (Cangé)
P	Paris, BNF f. fr. 847
Q	Paris, BNF f. fr. 1109, fos. 311–25
T	Paris, BNF f. fr. 1591 (Noailles)
U	Paris, BNF f. fr. 20050 (St-Germain-des-Prés)
V	Paris, BNF f. fr. 24406 (La Vallière)
W	Paris, BNF f. fr. 25566 (Adam de la Halle)
Wa	Fos. 2 ^r –9 ^v of W
X	Paris, BNF n. a. fr. 1050 (Clairambault)
Z	Siena, Biblioteca Comunale, H.X.36
a	Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Reg. lat. 1490

Other Abbreviations

AASF	<i>Annales Academiae Scientiarum Fennicae</i>
AcM	<i>Acta musicologica</i>
AIM	American Institute of Musicology
AMw	<i>Archiv für Musikwissenschaft</i>
BFR	Bibliothèque française et romane
BJHM	<i>Basler Jahrbuch für historische Musikpraxis</i>
BL	London, British Library
BNF	Paris, BNF
Boo	<i>Rondeaux et refrains du XII^e siècle au début du XIV^e</i> , ed. N. J. H. van den Boogaard

BzAMw	Beihefte zur <i>Archiv für Musikwissenschaft</i>
BzZRPh	Beihefte zur <i>Zeitschrift für romanische Philologie</i>
CCM	<i>Cahiers de civilisation médiévale</i>
CFMA	Classiques françaises du moyen âge
CMM	Corpus mensurabilis musicae
CS	<i>Scriptorium de musica medii aevi</i> , ed. E. de Coussemaker, 4 vols. (Paris, 1864–76)
CSM	Corpus scriptorum musicae
EMH	<i>Early Music History</i>
GLML	Garland Library of Medieval Literature
GS	<i>Scriptores ecclesiastici de musica sacra</i> , ed. M. Gerbert, 3 vols. (Saint-Blaise, 1784; repr. Milan, 1931)
JAMS	<i>Journal of the Americal Musicological Society</i>
ML	<i>Music & Letters</i>
MQ	<i>Musical Quarterly</i>
MMMA	Monumenta Monodica Medii Aevi
MSD	Musicological Studies and Documents
M/W	Mölk/Wolfenzettel, <i>Répertoire métrique</i>
PalMus	Paléographie musicale (Solesmes, 1889–)
PRMA	<i>Proceedings of the Royal Musical Association</i>
P/C	Pillet/Carstens, <i>Bibliographie der troubadours</i>
RdM	<i>Revue de musicologie</i>
R/S	Raynaud/Spanke, <i>Bibliographie des altfranzösischen Liedes</i>
RZL	<i>Romanistische Zeitschrift für Literaturgeschichte</i>
SATF	Société des anciens textes français
SBM	Schweizer Beiträge zur Musikwissenschaft
SMMA	Summa Musicae Medii Aevi
TLF	Textes littéraires français
TLM	Tischler, <i>Trouvère Lyrics with Melodies</i>
ZFSL	<i>Zeitschrift für französische Sprache und Literatur</i>
ZRPh	<i>Zeitschrift für romanische Philologie</i>

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I



The Grand chant of the Trouvères: An Introduction

C. S. Lewis described the so-called ‘courtly love’ phenomenon in medieval France as a ‘revolution’ compared to which ‘the Renaissance is a mere ripple on the surface of literature’.¹ It is true that nearly one thousand years later it still permeates the imagination and culture of Western Europe. Through the centuries it has inspired an incredible amount of artistic endeavour, expressing itself not just in the narratives, love poetry, art, and music of the late Middle Ages, but its tentacles reaching as far as the opera houses of the late nineteenth century and even to our cinema screens in the twentieth and twenty-first centuries. What ‘it’ is remains difficult to pin down, but therein lies, in part, the secret of its allure. Coined, or at least used for the first time in print, in 1881 by the French medievalist Gaston Paris,² the term ‘courtly love’ has become one of the most debated and disputed in scholarly circles,³ with many of its detractors arguing that it is an artificial construct with no validity. Nonetheless, to the public imagination it conjures up all those nostalgic visions of knights in shining armour, jousts, tournaments, kings and queens, crusades, sumptuous costumes, and garlands of flowers, much of which is an amalgam of images that have accrued to it over the centuries. Among those who believe it exists, there are numerous conflicting theories over its origins. Did it come across the Channel to France from the courts of the ancient Celtic world or the court of King Arthur? Or did it come from the Arabic world, either up through Spain, or with the crusading knights as they journeyed home from the Middle East? Everyone has a favourite theory.

¹ C. S. Lewis, *The Allegory of Love: A Study in Medieval Tradition* (Oxford, 1936, repr. 1998), 4.

² ‘Études sur les romans de la table ronde’, *Romania*, 10 (1881), 465–96.

³ See e.g. D. W. Robertson, ‘The Concept of Courtly Love as an Impediment to the Understanding of Medieval Texts’, in F. X. Newman (ed.), *The Meaning of Courtly Love* (Albany, NY, 1968), 1–18, and see the useful summary of the debate in scholarly circles in R. Boase, *The Origin and Meaning of Courtly Love: A Critical Study of European Scholarship* (Manchester, 1977). For a recent reprise of the question, see D. V. Hult, ‘Gaston Paris and the Invention of Courtly Love’, in R. H. Block and S. G. Nichols (eds), *Medievalism and the Modernist Temper* (Baltimore and London, 1996), 192–224.

But this is something of a red herring as an opening gambit since the focus in this study is not on the vague concept of 'courtly love' but on the very real repertoire of courtly love *songs* that flourished in northern France from around the middle of the twelfth century to the end of the thirteenth century. This is a book about love songs—one of the largest repertoires of love songs ever to have been written down with music. The language of these *chansons d'amour* was Old French, with hints of regional dialects in the orthography of the texts; some 1,500 songs survive with their melodies, which is quite extraordinary given that this is one of the first secular repertoires ever to have been notated. The texts and melodies of the songs were painstakingly etched onto parchment and bound in songbooks (*chansonnières*), most of which are preserved at the Bibliothèque nationale de France in Paris. But the song tradition is one that was inherited from Occitania (the south of modern France), from the world of the *troubadours*. Unfortunately, only four main sources with music survive for that repertoire, transmitting some 250 songs.⁴ The *troubadours*, or their northern equivalent the *trouvères*,⁵ composed in a variety of genres such as *pastourelles*, debate songs, dance songs, satirical and religious songs, etc., but their greatest form of artistic expression, as is testified to by Dante Alighieri,⁶ was the distilled miniature form of the *canzo*, as it was called in the south, or *grand chant* (often qualified now as *grande chanson courtoise*) in the north, and these were predominantly love songs.

The *troubadours* and *trouvères* were poet-composers and the earliest one we know of is Guilhem de Peitieu (who flourished 1071–1126), who was Count of Poitou and ninth Duke of the southern French domain of Aquitaine. (It seems likely that it was his granddaughter, Eleanor of Aquitaine, a great patron of the arts, who might have been partly responsible for bringing the songs of the *troubadours* to the north of France after her marriage to Louis VII in 1137.) Many of Guilhem's fellow poet-composers, and his northern successors too, were of noble birth. But in this age of social hierarchies, being a *troubadour* or

⁴ It is particularly tragic that so few sources with music survive, particularly when one considers that some 2,500 texts of *troubadour* songs are preserved in other sources. As far as we know, all the texts of the early repertoire at least would have been sung.

⁵ It is interesting that the word 'trouvère', the appellation given to the northern French poets, has not enjoyed as central a place in the world of courtly love as the word *troubadour*, and this despite the fact that the surviving repertoire of songs by the northern French poet-composers is substantially larger than that of their southern counterparts.

⁶ Dante was one of the first literary critics of vernacular verse and he cites numerous songs by the *trouvères* and some by the *troubadours*. There are several editions of Dante's treatise but two of note are: *Dante Alighieri: De vulgari eloquentia, ridotto a miglior lezione, commentato e tradotto da Aristide Marigo con introduzione, analisi metrica della canzone, studio della lingua e glossario* (Florence, 1948) and W. Welliver, *Dante in Hell: The De Vulgari Eloquentia. Introduction, Text, Translation, Commentary* (L'interprete, 21; Ravenna, 1981).

trouvère was a route to social mobility if your talent was prodigious enough, and so, sharing the stage, as it were, with the viscounts and lords were sons of the merchant classes as well, such as the troubadour Folquet de Marselha (c.1178–1231). I say ‘sons’ since the vast majority of these poet-composers were men. Recent work by American scholars has given voice to more female poet-composers, but the most famous remains the *trobairitz* Comtessa de Dia—even if very little of her work survives.⁷

The most famous trouvère, writing in Old French, was Thibaut de Champagne, who became King of Navarre. Apart from him, one of the next most illustrious trouvères was Gace Brulé, who was a knight, as were many of his fellow trouvères, and he frequented the court of Count Geoffrey II of Brittany, son of King Henry II and Eleanor of Aquitaine, and also that of Marie de France, Countess of Brie and Champagne. He was one of the early generations of poet-composers in the north of France who continued and transformed the legacy of the troubadours.⁸ It is clear from references in his songs that he also knew many of the contemporary trouvères, including Blondel de Nesle, Conon de Béthune, Gautier de Dargies, and Chastelain de Coucy. We know that many of these took part in the crusades (for example, Gautier de Dargies, who was also from a noble family, took part in the third crusade) and so it is possible that Brulé did so as well. In the manuscript sources, both Brulé and Dargies are depicted as knights on horseback in full regalia and with their family coat of arms in the miniature paintings that are placed at the head of their collection of songs in the chansonniers. It is likely that very often the performing context for the *grant chant* was noblemen in each other’s houses performing to or providing the audience for one another and for other less privileged trouvères who were under their patronage. This changed during the thirteenth century in northern France and particularly in the area of Arras. Here the prosperous merchant class got together in guilds and imitated the nobility by performing *grands chants*, thereby opening out the tradition to a new bourgeois audience.

Over seventy high-style courtly love songs by Brulé survive and the esteem in which his songs were held is attested to by the number of references to them in lyric and narrative works of the time, so while he learned from the troubadours himself, he in turn was looked to as a model. Dante, in his *De vulgari eloquentia*,

⁷ See the recent edition of *Songs of the Women Trouvères*, ed. and trans. Eglal Doss-Quinby, Joan Tasker Grimbert, Wendy Pfeffer, and Elizabeth Aubrey (New Haven, 2001). Only four poems and one melody by the Comtessa de Dia survive.

⁸ In his songs Brulé refers to others by a number of troubadours, including Raimbaut d’Aurenga, Gaucelm Faidit, Jaufré Rudel, and the very highly respected Bernart de Ventadorn. This is documented in the excellent edition by S. Rosenberg, S. Danon, and H. van der Werf, *The Lyrics and Melodies of Gace Brulé* (GLML, ser. A, 39; New York, 1985), p. xxv. Rosenberg and Danon also point out here that the troubadour Gaucelm Faidit was so impressed with one of Brulé’s songs that he used it as a model for one of his own.

quotes one of Brulé's songs, 'Ire d'amours', as an example of good practice (even if he does falsely attribute it to Thibaut de Champagne). It is apposite therefore, by way of introduction to the *grand chant*, to look at one of Brulé's courtly chansons, 'N'est pas a soi qui aime coralment' (see Ex. 1.1, pp. 11–12). Just as Brulé typifies the knightly class who were the main practitioners of trouvère art, at least in the early generations of trouvères, so too in many respects his songs are 'classics' of their type. That is not to say that they lacked individuality, character, and sophistication; on the contrary, Brulé was atypical among trouvères and more like the troubadours in his propensity for constantly inventing or finding new metrical structures for his songs rather than returning to structures he had used before.

In Ex. 1.1 the song is made up of a quite standard structure of five stanzas, each stanza having eight lines of ten syllables each. This is a syllabic verse system where, unlike in English and German metrical systems, the metre is based not on the number of stresses in a line but on the number of syllables. In addition, some songs are isometric, as in this song (where every line has the same number of syllables); others are heterometric, with lines of different syllable lengths. The other crucial element is the scheme of rhymes at the end of each line. In 'N'est pas a soi' the rhyme scheme is a b' a b' c' c' d' d' with a mixture of masculine and feminine line endings. Whereas in some structures the rhyme scheme changes every two stanzas or all stanzas might have a different rhyme scheme, in this instance the rhyme scheme is repeated in every stanza: coblas unissonans.

The song is sung in the first person singular and the authorial voice is that of a man. The song opens with a general statement about love, with the poet declaring that 'the man who truly loves is not master of himself and he who can't be tied down by love is not a true lover. He who resists love can never attain great honour. The strong cannot resist it nor can the most worthy man because all good things come from love and without it one will never have great joy.' In the second stanza the poet moves from the general to the personal and reveals his own particular situation. He entreats God that he should receive this joy and states his honourable intentions towards his lady (*dame*), professing that he would rather that his body be taken by sweet death than that he should upset her, she who is merciful and kind.

It is interesting that in this tradition the lady's husband does not feature as a protagonist. Instead one group of characters that does feature regularly are the gossipers and slanderers who do their best to cause trouble for the poet or the lady and are perceived as a scourge to civilized society. And so here, in the first half of the third stanza the singer says that he often sees false and villainous people (*faux et felons*) who take pains to demean and stifle joy (*joie*) and honour (*honor*). But in the second half of the stanza the poet says that although they have

done him harm it will not weaken his desire to serve (*servir*) and to wait (*attendre*). Feudal language infuses much of this poetry, with liberal use of imagery pertaining to service and honour, very much reflecting the society of the time, even if by the thirteenth century that feudal society was very much on the wane. In the last two lines of stanza 3 the poet professes that he will serve (*si servirai*), but even this willingness might not be enough for him to rise so high (*haut*) from so lowly (*bas*) a position. And so at this point he reveals to the listener that his lady is superior to him in social station.

In the fourth stanza the poet provides further information on the intensity of his love for his lady by telling us that, not being able to express his love, means he suffers a living death, such that even the villainous people would feel for him. Then in the second half of the stanza he reiterates the inaccessibility of his love, saying that despite his suffering he is glad he embarked on such a high love (*haut amour*) that the reward could not possibly reach down to him. And he reiterates that he will never dare to beg the lady, in whom sweetness (*douçors*) and beauty (*beautez*) reside.

In the fifth stanza he says he is not concerned with discouragement and there is no point in complaining to bad people (*male gent*). Then he moves to the general, if high, ground, stating in lines 3–6 that he who is in love sees, knows, and understands that great love (*granz amors*) is not easy to feign and once it wants to enter a true heart (*fin cuer*) no one could resist its virtue. These concepts of *fin cuer* and *granz amors* lie at the very core of this high-style courtly song tradition. The stanza ends with a final statement of the intensity of his love when he says in the last two lines that love has so taken over his heart that, by the mercy of God, it controls him at will. This is perfectly formed *chanson* and it was clearly known to contemporaries of Brulé, as its beginning is incorporated into a *jeu-parti* (debate song) between the trouvère Guillaume li Vinier and his brother Gilles.⁹

In these courtly songs the lady is never named. As far as we can tell from the poems, this is generally imperative because either the lady is married or betrothed to someone else, or she is of higher station than the poet, and so he dare not announce his love for fear of offence or rejection. Another aspect, of course, is that we are not really expected to believe always that the poet-composer is singing of an actual situation and not a hypothetical one. But it is ironic, given the background of a strongly Christian Europe and a feudal social structure that such a refined art form should celebrate—idolize almost—what is essentially an adulterous love. In truth, contrary to what some might suggest, the evidence for widespread adultery in this courtly society is not provided by the courtly *chanson* repertoire.¹⁰ It would appear that at its very core was

⁹ The *jeu-parti* in question is R/S 691.

¹⁰ The troubadour repertoire features a higher proportion of songs that imply physical love.

the celebration of the idea of love rather than the act of love-making. Indeed the longing and desire were channelled into the energy of creativity, almost essential for it. Time and again the trouvères sing of being compelled to sing by their state of love, whether that be the pain of love, the ecstasy of being in love, or anger at a rival or someone who gets in the way of love. Brulé expresses this strong association between love and singing in several of his chansons, but it is particularly effusively expressed in the following opening stanza:

Chanter me plait que de joie est norriz
 Mais per effort ne doit nuns chançon faire.
 Puis que solaz est de fin cuer partiz,
 Poinne i couvient ainz qu'en li puist retraire,
 Mais cil qu'amors et talenz fait chanter
 De legier puet bone chançon trover,
 Ce que nuns homs ne feroit sanz amer. (R/S 1572)

I like singing, as it is nourished by joy
 But no one should force themselves to compose (*faire*) a song.
 When pleasure has left a true heart
 Effort is needed, until it returns
 But he whom love and desire compel to sing
 Can easily compose (*trover*) a good song
 Which no man can do without being in love.

In another song Brulé is compelled to sing by his pain and frustration at his lady's remoteness that makes his love grow and double (*croître e double*). He opens the song as follows:

Bien ait amors, qui m'ensaigne
 E mos e chans a trover (R/S 562)
 Love is good for it teaches me
 To compose (*trover*) both words and music

There is of course considerable diversity within the trouvère corpus in details of the states of love and attitudes to it. Even within Brulé's oeuvre one finds, happily, that he has different experiences and is not always so careful to keep his distance from the object of his love. There is, for example, the charming song 'Ne puis faillir a bone chançon faire' (R/S 160) where he celebrates a kiss:

Ma volenté est si fiere et hardie
 Qu'a toutes genz vueil descouvrir m'amor
 Et la biauté dont j'ai si grant envie
 Que je n'i fin de penser nuit et jor.

Uns douz besiers me fu si savorez
 Que je ne sai se mes cuers m'est enblez,
 Mes contre moi s'en est en li entrez.
 My desire is so proud and daring
 That I want to reveal my love to everyone,
 And the beauty I desire so much
 And whom I cannot stop thinking of night and day.
 I savoured so much a sweet kiss
 That I don't know if my heart wasn't snatched from me
 And, to my disadvantage, entered her.

Brulé's song 'Douce dame, grez et graces vos rent' (R/S 719) would lead us to believe that for all the social hierarchies and courtliness, love is a great leveller. He opens the song with an expression of gratitude to his lady, who clearly returns his attentions. In the second strophe he talks of how love is not bothered with high and low standing and that a lover is one of low standing who is raised up by love. Nevertheless he recognizes that in the eyes of society he will pay a penalty, a sentence of death no less, for daring to love so far above him; she will die too but it is a 'good death' for showing such daring! In another cheery *chançon* where the poet has the occasion to celebrate a requited love, he again uses feudal imagery to outline the qualities of true lovers: he speaks of 'service' and loyalty, as opposed to deceit and falsehood. In the three line *envoi* at the end of the song he says:

Je m'os bien vanter en chantant
 Qu'aïnc nus si loiaument n'ama
 Ne son service n'emploia
 En si sage n'en si vaillant. (R/S 389)
 I dare boast in my song
 That no one has loved so loyally,
 Nor served so well,
 Such a wise and virtuous lady.

As we can see here, the qualities expected of a lady are wisdom, virtue, and kindness (*debonereté*). One interesting feature in this song is that he praises himself for his daring in looking so high for love and seems surprised at his own behaviour, as in the past he used to be prudent and courteous (*sages et courtoiz*).

This self-conscious, self-obsessed inner monologue of the poet-composer also lies at the heart of the tradition. Much has been written about how this tradition elevates the position of women but in fact it is the man himself who is at the centre of this universe, not the high-born, inaccessible lady. In reality, the woman had few powers at this time, outside or inside marriage. More often than not she had no say

in whom she married; that decision was taken on her behalf by someone else for political, financial, or other advantage. If the advantage no longer pertained, the marriage could be abandoned without ceremony. In the most general terms a code of chivalrous behaviour can be identified in these love songs. The young man aspires to behave with honour and wisdom, to be prudent and courteous; to uphold the honour of his lady and not offend her in any way. He needs to be tactful and discreet and above all to have a true heart, be a true lover, and aspire to great love. Courts of love were instituted and there was constant debate between the trouvères about how to act in particular circumstances. The debate songs (*jeu-parti*) became extremely popular in the thirteenth century and are particularly associated with trouvères from Arras. In reality there is no single code of love that emerges across the whole repertoire but there is a general understanding of what constitutes good manners and good behaviour.¹¹ The historian Georges Duby has suggested that codes of behaviour associated with courtly behaviour were deliberately instituted and promoted in this period to 'control' the behaviour of young men and of society in general at a time when all the old social structures were being eroded. These codes of love taught men how to serve.¹²

With respect to the music of the Brulé song 'N'est pas a soi', this song is in the standard strophic form, where the same music is sung to each of the strophes or stanzas. In the manuscripts the music is written out above the text of the first strophe only. Usually the music of these songs is made up of two parts: the *frons* (or front end of the song) and the *cauda* (the back end). In the most common structure the *frons* is made up of two sections with the same music being repeated in each section, as here: lines 3 and 4 repeat the same music used in lines 1 and 2, hence ABAB. Often the *cauda* appears to be made up of new music (e.g. CDEF) but in this case we see that it mirrors the rhyme scheme exactly so the music for the whole strophe is ABABCC'DD'. The melody is quite complex and melismatic in character, with the largest group of notes occurring towards line endings or, in lines 7 and 8, at the caesura point, where the metre of the text has a small break after syllable 4. The original notation in the manuscript has no indication of rhythmic character, reminding us perhaps of the statement by the theorist Johannes de Grocheio that in the thirteenth century there was music that was measured and music that was not so precisely measured. Likewise the strict

¹¹ For discussions of the implicit guidelines on appropriate behaviour in the discourses on *fin'amor* in the troubadour repertoire, see L. Paterson, 'Fin'amor and the Development of the Courtly Canso', in S. Gaunt and S. Kay (eds), *The Troubadours: An Introduction* (Cambridge, 1999), 28–46 and the chapter on 'Fin'amor' by M. Lazar in F. R. P. Akehurst and J. M. Davis (eds), *A Handbook of the Troubadours* (Berkeley, CA, 1995), 61–100.

¹² G. Duby, *Love and Marriage in the Middle Ages*, trans. J. Dunnett (Oxford, 1983), 56–63. For an illuminating discussion on codes of behaviour see also R. Harvey, 'Courtly Culture in Medieval Occitania', in Gaunt and Kay (eds), *The Troubadours: An Introduction*, 8–27.

system of melodic modes (used in the sacred repertoire) does not apply to this song. In the trouvère manuscripts, in general, we see a much freer attitude as to where and how 'accidentals' are applied. The melody moves by step, weaving around focal pitches, with some unexpected vacillation between F#s and F#s. This is a very haunting, complex, and reflective melody. There is at once a universality and an intimacy about it which seems particularly appropriate for the reflective and introspective nature of the text. As we will see throughout this study, the melodies of these songs are frequently the vehicles for the greatest degree of individuality and originality in the art form.

The dawn of the trouvère era coincided with the beginning of a new era for France. It was the great age of the Gothic cathedrals and the famous choir school of Notre Dame, where the early seeds of Western art polyphony were blossoming; a new music, full of light and space, was being created, expressly designed to fill the soaring architecture of the new cathedral, and these Gothic marvels were being erected all around France and indeed Europe. It would appear that Paris was not the heart of the trouvère world—that was concentrated particularly in the area around Arras, which produced no fewer than 200 known trouvères. But in the thirteenth century, in the area north of Paris and in modern Belgium sacred and secular worlds began to collide. The trouvère Moniot de Paris clearly had some connection with the city and it is likely that other trouvères who had at some stage been monks (as, it appears, was Moniot d'Arras) would have spent some time there. We know Adam de la Halle left Arras for a period of study in Paris and, among the trouvères, it is he who epitomizes the confluence of different worlds with his trouvère credentials on the one hand and his foray into polyphonic composition on the other. Truly it was a golden age for music in France.

To end this brief introduction to *grant chant*, I will quote two opinions, expressed by scholars for whom I have great respect. First, it has been suggested that the 'conventionality and uniformity' of the trouvère songs would 'greatly displease a modern audience' and that 'both troubadours and trouvères composed for audiences that did not value originality'.¹³ The second states:

Considering the care with which the troubadours and trouvères designed the form of their poems and considering the agreement among the manuscripts regarding rhyme and stanzaic form, one would expect the authors, composers, and scribes to pay equal attention to detail regarding the musical form. But the manuscripts make it abundantly clear that the form of the poem must have been of far greater interest to everybody involved than the form of the melody. Convention and lack of sophistication in the form of the melody are typical, while originality and attention to detail are the exception.¹⁴

¹³ See D. H. Nelson, 'Northern France', in Akehurst and Davis (eds) *A Handbook of the Troubadours*, 255–61.

¹⁴ See H. van der Werf, *The Chansons of the Troubadours and Trouvères* (Utrecht, 1972), 63.

Before embarking on a detailed look at the melodic and lyric art of the early trouvères in Chapters 3 and 4, which, it is hoped, will provide a robust challenge to the first opinion, it is necessary first to address some of the problems of the manuscript tradition that lie at the root of the lack of confidence, revealed in the second opinion, in the musical aspects of this extraordinary repertoire of courtly *chansons*.

DropBooks

Ex. 1.1 N'est pas a soi' (R/S 653), O, fo. 86^{r-v}

1. N'est pas a soi qui ai - - me co - - ral - - ment

2. Ne cil a - - mis qu'a - mours ne puet des - - train - dre,

3. Et sai - - chiez bien, qui vers li se des - - fent

4. Ne por - - roit pas a grant ho - - nor a - - tein - dre.

5. Li vi - - gue - - rous ne s'i pu - - ent des - - fen - dre,

6. Mais qui plus vaut plus tost s'i lais - - se pren - dre,

7. Car d'a - - mors sont tuit li bien a de - - vi - - se

8. Ne ja sanz li n'iert grant joi - - e con - - qui - - se.

II. Dex, qui en moi fist plus qu'en autres cent
 Amors venir et naistre et croistre et maindre
 M'en doint joïr ensi veraïement
 Con je n'ai cuer ne volenté d'ateindre
 Vers ma dame cui n'os faire a entendre;
 Mieuz vuil mon cors de bele mort sorprendre
 Qu'ele soit ja par moi nul jour requise
 Qu'ele seit bien qu'est pities et franchise.

III. Faux et felons voi costumierement
 Qui se poinent d'abaissier et d'estaindre
 Joie et honor sanz lor amendement,
 Mais granz amors ne puet por eux remainder;

The Grand chant of the Trouvères

Mal m'ont il fait, mais ja por ce n'iert mandre
Ma volentez de servir et d'atendre,
Si servirai mais ne sai en quel guise
Voingne si haut de si bas par servise.

IV. Se touz li monz savoit ce que je sent
Nes li felon devroient ma mort plaindre
Qu'en morant vif si con amors consent;
Mais ne me puet trop grever ne destraindre
Tel gré m'en sai c'onques osai emprendre
Si haute amor qu'en moi ne doit descendre
Li guierredons ne ja n'en iert requise
Cele ou douçors et beautez est assise.

V. Je n'ai mestier de desconfortement
N'a male gent ne se fait bon complaindre;
Mais cil qui aime, si voit, seit et entent
Que granz amors n'est pas legiere a faindre
Puis qu'el se veut par mi fin cuer estendre;
A sa vertu ne porroit nuns contendre
Et ele s'est dedenz le mien esprise
La merci Deu qu'a son gré me jostise.

Envoi I

Toute autre riens ocist home et debrise
Fors soul amors, quant ele est a droit prise.

Envoi II

Chantez, Renaut, qui amez sanz faintise
Car laissié l'ont li dui de Saint Denise.



The Manuscript Tradition: Sources and Notation

Sources

By comparison with troubadour song, which survives with music in only four main sources, the legacy of trouvère song is relatively handsome: as well as various fragments, there are some twenty substantial extant chansonniers in which both text and music are preserved. As with the troubadour repertoire, there are also a number of extant trouvère sources that record only poetic texts; the focus here, however, will be on that corpus of chansonniers in which both text and music are recorded together. Table 2.1 lists the central sources of trouvère song together with common abbreviations and the standard sigla that will be used for the purpose of reference.¹

While the basis for the study of trouvère song must be the extant chansonniers, a number of limitations with regard to their evidence have to be taken into consideration. First, the surviving sources of Old French lyric present a very incomplete manuscript tradition. The main body of the KNPX group apart, no two of the extant sources are directly related, and, although certain manuscript

¹ The sigla adopted are the standard ones codified by E. Schwan in *Die altfranzösischen Liederhandschriften: Ihr Verhältnis, ihre Entstehung und ihre Bestimmung* (Berlin, 1886). The designation Mt for the collection of Thibaut de Champagne's songs in M was coined by Jean and Louise Beck in their facsimile edition of the Roi chansonnier (*Les Chansonniers des troubadours et des trouvères, Numéro 2: Le Manuscrit du Roi: fonds français no. 844 de la Bibliothèque Nationale*, 2 vols. (Corpus Cantilenarum Medii Aevi; Philadelphia, 1938, repr. New York, 1970)). Other sources which preserve a small number of lyrics with music (as well as those sources of trouvère lyric preserved without music) are listed in Schwan and in the standard bibliographical works: G. Raynaud, *Bibliographie des chansonniers français des XIII^e et XIV^e siècles*, 2 vols. (Paris, 1884, repr. New York, 1970), and the revision of the second part thereof in H. Spanke, *G. Raynauds Bibliographie des altfranzösischen Lieder* (Leiden, 1955); A. Jeanroy, *Bibliographie sommaire des chansonniers français du moyen âge* (CFMA 18; Paris, 1918), and for a detailed discussion of, and complement to, Jeanroy see F. Gennrich, 'Die beiden neuesten Bibliographien altfranzösischer und altprovenzalischer Lieder', *ZRPh* 61 (1921), 289–346; R. W. Linker, *A Bibliography of Old French Lyrics* (Romance Monographs, 31; University, Miss., 1979). Because of heavy editing and re-editing of the notation (and some of the texts) of the trouvère songs transmitted on fos. 98–117^v and fo. 131^{r–v} of London, British Library, MS Eg. 274 (F), it will be excluded from the discussion which follows.

TABLE 2.1. *Principal trouvère manuscript sources containing music*

Manuscript	Siglum
Arras, Bibliothèque municipale, MS 657, fos. 129–60 (Arras)	A
Berne, Burgerbibliothek, MS 231 (Berne)	B
Paris, Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal, MS 5198 (Arsenal)	K
Paris, BNF f. fr. 765, fos. 48–63	L
Paris, BNF f. fr. 844 (Roi)	M
Thibaut de Champagne collection in Roi, fo. 13 and fos. 59–77	Mt
Paris, BNF f. fr. 845	N
Paris, BNF f. fr. 846 (Cangé)	O
Paris, BNF f. fr. 847	P
Paris, BNF f. fr. 1109, fos. 311–25	Q
Paris, BNF f. fr. 1591 (Noailles)	T
Paris, BNF f. fr. 20050 (St-Germain-des-Prés)	U
Paris, BNF f. fr. 24406 (La Vallière)	V
Paris, BNF f. fr. 25566 (Adam de la Halle)	W
(Fos. 2 ^r –9 ^v of W)	Wa)
Paris, BNF n. a. fr. 1050 (Clairambault)	X
Siena, Biblioteca Comunale, H.X.36 (Siena)	Z
Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Reg. lat. 1490 (Vatican)	a

relationships can be established, the interrelationships between the sources present a very complex web of stemmata, testifying to a substantial number of lost sources.² In his study of trouvère sources Schwan identified two principle groups among the chansonniers preserved with music listed in Table 2.1:

1. K, N, P, X, to which L and the first half of V (fos. 1–119) are also related;³
2. M, T, A, and a (the first two and the last two being closely related). The fragmentary source Z is related to A and a.⁴

It should be pointed out, however, that these groupings do not hold for all portions of the repertoire transmitted within the sources, even in the relatively homogeneous KNPX group. There are several instances, even within the canon

² Schwan's study, *Die altfranzösischen Liederhandschriften*, still remains the most comprehensive attempt at establishing stemmata in this body of manuscripts.

³ The lost chansonnier de Mesmes, destroyed in a fire in 1807, was evidently also related to this group: see T. Karp, 'A Lost Medieval Chansonnier', *MQ* 48 (1962), 50–67. Furthermore, Schwan (*Die altfranzösischen Liederhandschriften*, 106) proposed that L might originally have formed part of the same manuscript as the fragment B.

⁴ For a discussion of the close relationship between A and a see the introductory remarks to the facsimile edition of A, *Le Chansonnier d'Arras*, ed. A. Jeanroy (SATF; Paris, 1875–1925, repr. New York, 1968). While Spaziani agrees with Schwan's basic association of Z with this group of manuscripts, he qualifies that relationship (and indicates others) in his detailed study of the manuscript: see M. Spaziani, *Il canzoniere francese di Siena (Biblioteca Comunale, H-X-36)* (Biblioteca dell'Archivum Romanicum, ser. 1, 46; Florence, 1957), 10–18.

of an individual trouvère, where the above sources regroup or where individual sources present unique readings. The remaining manuscripts, though occasionally lining up with one or other of these groups (U, for instance, is sometimes related to the second group), fail to do so for the most part. Furthermore, the evidence of the chansonniers would seem to suggest that the poetic texts and their melodies were sometimes transmitted separately.⁵ Thus a stemma based on poetic texts will not necessarily be supported by the musical variants. Given the incompleteness of the extant manuscript tradition, it is not surprising, perhaps, that it would appear to be replete with anomalies and dichotomies such as divergent textual and/or musical readings, conflicting author attributions, and so on. The apparently conflicting evidence within the corpus of surviving manuscripts is also related to a number of other considerations outlined briefly here and discussed more fully below.

A second consideration in assessing the manuscript tradition is the time factor involved between the date of 'composition' and the period from which the extant manuscript tradition dates. With the exception of the main part of the Saint-Germain-des-Prés chansonnier (U), which probably dates from the mid-thirteenth century, the principal chansonniers all date from the late thirteenth century, or the end of thirteenth/early fourteenth century.⁶ However, the trouvère lyric tradition was already flourishing almost one hundred years earlier, as witnessed by the works of such seminal protagonists as Blondel de Nesle (fl. 1180–1200), Le Chastelain de Couci (d. 1203), Gace Brulé (c.1160–1213), and Gautier de Dargies (born c.1170). It is striking that the extant manuscript tradition does not date from before the fourth generation of trouvères. Thus trouvères of the first three generations such as Gautier de Dargies, Audefroï le Bastard (fl. c.1200–25), and Moniot d'Arras (fl. 1213–39), and possibly also Jehan Erart (c.1200–59), were dead before the earliest of the extant chansonniers was compiled. Adam de la Halle, the most prominent figure of the last generation of trouvères, died c.1288, and while trouvère lyrics no doubt continued to be circulated and performed long after this date, it would seem that the death of Adam marks the decline of the main creative period of trouvère lyric.

⁵ This issue is also discussed in connection with the troubadour repertoire by E. Aubrey in her study of one of the principal troubadour sources, Paris, BNF, f. fr. 22543 (TrbR); see Aubrey, 'A Study of the Origins, History, and Notation of the Troubadour Chansonnier Paris, B.N., f. fr. 22543' (Ph.D. diss., University of Maryland, 1982), 73–87 and also her discussion of the manuscripts in ch. 2 of her book *The Music of the Troubadours* (Bloomington and Indianapolis, Ind., 1996).

⁶ References to the chronology of these sources are to be found *passim* in the standard bibliographical works cited in n. 1, and in the prefatory material to most of the standard editions and facsimiles listed in the bibliography.

Thus it is very important to realize that the manuscript sources stand in different chronological relationships to the repertoire they record. In documenting a repertoire composed over a period of more than a century, they offer both a retrospective and a contemporary view, representing different stages of the trouvère tradition. It will be seen below, with respect to various aspects of the sources, not least the notation, that the retrospective view is sometimes coloured with contemporary influences, and the contemporary view with lateral influences, all of which inevitably contribute to the complexity of the manuscript tradition.

A third consideration is the question of the extent of the reliance of the trouvère tradition on oral transmission. Although it is possible that some of the repertoire may have been notated at an earlier date in rolls or in earlier collections that have not survived (and indeed the incomplete nature of the extant manuscript tradition would suggest this), it is likely that, for the earlier generations of trouvères at least, the principal process of transmission was an oral one and therefore that the extant chansonniers are to some degree a product of a combination of oral and written transmission. Orality is clearly a primary concern in the trouvère lyric art, not only in relation to questions of transmission but as an intrinsic element in the 'compositional' style.⁷ Moreover, it will be seen that the concept of an *Urtext* is essentially alien to this repertoire and that a strictly textualist approach is inadequate in dealing with problems of transmission in trouvère song.

Further complexities in the body of surviving manuscripts containing Old French songs are undoubtedly related to the fact that it represents one of the earliest attempts to write down a substantial repertoire of medieval monophonic vernacular song. With regard to the significant developments in aspects of musical notation during that century, Willi Apel has made the following comment:

The notation of the thirteenth century, if compared with that of other periods of equal duration, exhibits a unique picture of great changes and rapid development. Every two or three decades new ideas of form and style appeared which necessitated the introduction of corresponding notational innovations.⁸

Such exciting advances in musical style and notation were not an isolated phenomenon but rather were symptomatic of profound changes in various

⁷ A number of scholars, among them Leo Treitler, have recognized the importance of considering the oral dimension in the critical appraisal and interpretation of medieval music. For a theoretical exposé of some of the problems and concepts involved in interpreting medieval musical documents see Treitler, 'Oral, Written, and Literate Process in the Transmission of Medieval Music', *Speculum*, 56 (1981), 471–91. Treitler embarks on his discussion from the premiss that 'the topic of musical transmission in the Middle Ages cannot be discussed without reference to the debates about oral and written tradition' (p. 471).

⁸ Willi Apel, *The Notation of Polyphonic Music 900–1600* (5th edn, Cambridge, Mass., 1961), 282.

aspects of culture and learning, and indeed in the very structures of thirteenth-century French society. The world of learning, previously confined within the venerable walls of monasteries and cathedrals became more accessible to various sections of an increasingly literate lay community. Consequently it is hardly surprising that a certain degree of experimentation is apparent in early attempts to record this repertoire. The introduction of a written tradition to a pre-existent oral tradition does not, however, preclude the continuation of oral processes.

Finally, the complex relationships between the *trouvère* sources listed in Table 2.1 is due in part to the composite nature of many of the sources in their existing forms. Some manuscripts are composed of separate bodies of material that sometimes even date from different periods. The manuscript V, for instance, is composed of two separate collections in entirely different hands: the first occupying fos. 1–119^v and the second, in a later hand, occupying fos. 148–55. While the main body of M and T date from the late thirteenth century, in both manuscripts additions were made on empty folios and staves by fourteenth- and fifteenth-century hands.⁹

Further additions and modifications to some of the sources were made in later centuries. These additions are generally marginal—literally—and less significant, comprising, for instance, refoliation or the addition or emendation of author attributions for individual songs. Two notable modern emendators were Claude Fauchet (who in the sixteenth century furnished marginal notations in a number of manuscripts, among them a and L) and Châtre de Cangé (who in the eighteenth century supplied various additions and marginalia, in particular, in the *chansonnier* O, generally referred to as the Cangé *chansonnier*; having a number of *chansonniers* at his disposal, he added melodies on staves left empty in O, as, for instance, on fos. 142–51). Another form of addition to the original sources in subsequent centuries is in the provision of indexes or tables of contents (such as those supplied by Cangé for the preliminary and supplementary material of P). At the end of the *chansonnier* X (fos. 275–6) a table of contents is provided for a *chansonnier* then in the possession of a Mme de Varennes-Gode, which, it transpires, is none other than the manuscript N.

There are a number of instances also where the extant *chansonniers* have clearly been incorrectly bound. Such was the fate of A, the Arras *chansonnier* (a music fascicle occupying fos. 129–60 of a composite volume—Arras, Bibliothèque municipale, MS 675—in which three totally unrelated manuscripts are bound together) but the music fascicle of fos. 129–60 is itself a composite of two separate collections, one of *chansons* and one of *jeux-partis*.

⁹ For folio references to the late additions in M (entire works and melodies only) see *Le Manuscrit du Roi*, ed. Beck, i, pp. ix–x and xxix. In T the collection of Adam de la Halle works appended to the main manuscript are in a 14th-c. hand; the 15th-c. additions are listed in Raynaud, *Bibliographie*, i. 153.

Not only was the collection of *jeux-partis* bound into the middle of the collection of chansons but the latter collection in itself was incorrectly bound. In his facsimile edition of the **Arras** chansonnier, Jeanroy suggested that the correct ordering of A should be as follows: fos. 152–6, fos. 157–60, fos. 129–35, and lastly, the separate collection of *jeux-partis*, fos. 136–51.¹⁰

Manuscript organization

It is clear that the compilers of most of the surviving chansonniers perceived a collection of *grans chans* or *chansons courtoises* as being at the heart of the chansonnier. The other genres represent only a small proportion of the surviving repertoire and the apparently haphazard manner of their inclusion in some of the sources would suggest that they were regarded as being peripheral to the central repertoire. A number of the manuscripts listed in Table 2.1 include small bodies of material that are strictly speaking extrinsic to the main tradition of the lyric art of the trouvères (such as motets, polyphonic *rondeaux*, and so on). However, the principal part of virtually all of the chansonniers listed above comprises a homogeneous corpus in which the songs are systematically organized in one of three ways: by author, alphabetically (based on the initial letter of the poetic text), or by genre.

The predominant system of organization in the sources of trouvère lyric is the assemblage of author corpora, arranged to a certain extent in descending order of social rank. The chansonnier **K** is typical of this method of organization. The collection opens with a group of songs by the trouvère king Thibaut de Champagne (pp. 1–54); this is followed by a group of songs by Gace Brulé (pp. 54–93) which, in turn, is followed by the works of other aristocratic trouvères: Le Chastelain de Couci (pp. 93–109), Blondel de Nesle (pp. 109–21), Thibaut de Blazon (pp. 121–7), Gautier de Dargies (pp. 127–33). There follow the works of trouvères of somewhat less noble rank: Moniot d'Arras (pp. 133–8), Raoul de Soissons (pp. 138–43), Gillebert de Berneville (pp. 143–54), and Perrin d'Angecort (pp. 154–70 *bis*), and so on. Finally, anonymous chansons are gathered together in a group (pp. 303–84) at the end of the sequence of works by named trouvères. Though not always consistent, nor always strictly observing an order based on rank, an attempt at an overall organization based primarily on authors, similar to that in **K**, is also found in the related manuscripts **N**, **P**, and **X**, in **M**, **T**, and in the smaller and/or incomplete collections **A**, **B**, **L**, and **Z**,

¹⁰ Following Jeanroy's reordering of the manuscript in his facsimile reproduction (*Le Chansonnier d'Arras*); the manuscript itself has subsequently been rebound correctly.

even when author attributions are not always included, as in the latter three sources.¹¹

In the second manner of organization, the chansons are presented in alphabetical order based on the first line of text. Only one of the manuscripts listed in Table 2.1 is thus organized, namely, **O** (Cangé),¹² although a similar alphabetical organization is found in the source Berne, Stadtsbibliothek, MS 389 (**C**), where the texts are entered under staves but the melodies were never added. In **C** author attributions and genre indications (e.g. 'de notre dame' (fo. 194) and 'pastorelle' (fo. 194^v)) are occasionally entered in the margin but these additions may well have been added by a later scribe. The chansonnier **O**, by contrast, has no author attributions. In principle, this would appear to be in marked contrast to the system of organization described above, which depends on the identification of the individual authors and their works. However, within the individual alphabetical categories of **O** a hierarchical arrangement by author can be observed (even if the authors are not acknowledged), suggesting that the compiler of this manuscript used exemplars in which the material was organized by author. Where possible the compiler begins each letter group with a chanson by the highest-ranking trouvère, Thibaut, the King of Navarre, and follows this with works by Gace Brulé beginning with that initial. If Thibaut's canon (or that portion of it available to the compiler) did not include a song beginning with a particular initial, a work by Gace Brulé was placed at the head of that particular group (as in the letter group 'O').¹³ The alphabetical ordering extends only to the initial letter: within the individual letter groups a strict alphabetical order is not observed.¹⁴

The third systematic method of organization found in the trouvère chansonniers is where the lyrics are arranged by genre. Among the twenty or so principal

¹¹ Although neither **B** nor **L** (possibly belonging to the same collection originally) has author attributions, the songs each contains are ordered according to author. **L**, occupying fols. 48–63 of a large volume containing other non-musical material, preserves fifty-one songs with music, most of which are by Gace Brulé and Le Chastelain de Coucy; **B** is a fragment of only eight folios, containing twenty songs, although the music is provided for only fourteen: of these, thirteen are by Thibaut de Champagne. The other sources containing no author attributions are **O** and **U**. In **R** author attributions are provided only in the first part of the manuscript (fols. 1–62); in **V** the only named author is Philippe de Remi, and in **Z** there are attributions only for seven songs, occurring on fols. 35^r–38^v, which are attributed to Colars li Boutelliers.

¹² Although the main body of **K** is arranged by author, there is a short sequence of anonymous songs at the end which is arranged alphabetically.

¹³ See the description and study of the manuscript **O** by Jean Beck in *Les Chansonniers des Troubadours et des Trouvères*, i: *Eproduction phototypique du Chansonnier Cangé*, and ii: *Transcription des chansons du Chansonnier Cangé* (Corpus Cantilenarum Medii Aevi, ser. 1; Philadelphia, 1927, repr. New York, 1964). See also Sylvia Huot's discussion of this manuscript in *From Song to Book: The Poetics of Writing in Old French Lyric and Lyrical Narrative Poetry* (Ithaca, NY, 1987), 74–80.

¹⁴ **O** is one of the few manuscripts that is systematic throughout, running from A right through to the 'Fin' ('The End') on fo. 141^v after the U letter group in its alphabetical system. There are no additions to this main design, apart from Cangé's additions in the 18th c. (including preliminary tables and the transcription of a collection of songs from other manuscripts at the end of **O**). For a consideration of other forces of organization within the alphabetical letter groups of **O**, see *Le Chansonnier Cangé*, ed. Beck, ii, p. [14].

sources which do preserve melodies, only two have an overall organizational method based on genre: **W** (the so-called Adam de la Halle chansonnier) and **a** (the Vatican chansonnier). The first of these includes virtually the entire output of Adam de la Halle.¹⁵ In **W** the material is ordered as follows:

fos. 10–23	chansons
fos. 23–32	<i>jeux-partis</i>
fos. 32 ^v –34	polyphonic <i>rondeaux</i>
fos. 34 ^v –37	motets
fos. 37–68	<i>Jeu du Pelerin, Jeu de Robin et de Marion</i> , and other literary works (a number of which feature interpolated monophonic refrains). ¹⁶

This somewhat exceptional collection of Adam's works apart, there is only one extant trouvère source (namely, **a**) preserving both music and text, in which a substantial repertoire, by a large number of trouvères, is organized into groups under 'generic' titles. The generic categories in **a** are as follows:

fos. 1–108 ^v	chansons
fos. 109–13 ^v	<i>pastourelles</i>
fos. 114–17	motets
fos. 117–20	monophonic <i>rondelz</i> (by Guillaume d'Amiens)
fos. 120–33 ^v	<i>chansons de notre dame</i>
fos. 134–81	<i>jeux-partis</i>

As in the alphabetically organized source **O**, so too in source **a** a subordinate organization by author is observed, occurring within the main group of chansons on fos. 1–108^v; unlike **O**, **a** does include author attributions.

Additional material appended to the main body of the chansonniers

In most of the principal extant chansonniers, with the exception of the unusually systematic **a** and **O**, various smaller bodies of material are added to the principal corpus of courtly songs. While some of the added material is roughly contemporaneous with the main corpus, in other instances the additions were clearly made at a later date. In the **KNPX** group, for instance, the common material in the four sources is the main collection of chansons arranged by author, followed by a collection of anonymous songs, as discussed in relation to **K** above. To this

¹⁵ It does not, however, contain all of Adam's surviving works: for instance, the *chansons* 'Onques nus hom' and 'Grant deduit' are not included.

¹⁶ The Adam *opera omnia* is followed by various literary works by other authors. For a discussion of the monophonic refrains in the narrative works see A. Butterfield, *Poetry and Music in Medieval France: From Jean Renart to Adam de la Halle* (Cambridge, 2002).

main corpus is added a variety of different material in the case of each of the sources: in **K** there is a second series of anonymous chansons, arranged alphabetically by text; in **N**, a group of *motets entés sans tenor* followed by *lais* and *rondeaux*; in both **P** and **X** the main corpus is followed by a group of 'religious' or devotional songs, and in **P** this in turn is followed by a collection of songs by Adam de la Halle. The additional material (which, in some instances, is interpolated into the main body of the chansonnier rather than clearly constituting an appendage) in these and others of the chansonniers falls loosely into five categories:¹⁷

1. troubadour pieces (**M** and **U**);
2. polyphonic music: motets (**M**, **T**, **a**, and **W**) and polyphonic *rondeaux* (**N** and **W**);
3. lyric genres other than chansons: *lais* (**M**, **T**, and **N**), monophonic *rondeaux* (**a**), and *jeux-partis* (**A**, **P**, **Q**, **a**, **R** (no music), and **Z**);
4. devotional songs (**P**, **X**, **V**, **M**, and **a**); and
5. separate collections of Thibaut de Champagne works (**M** and **T**) or of Adam de la Halle works (**P** and **T**).

The addition of such material to the main chanson collection in individual manuscripts is perhaps less a result of a critically selective process on the part of each compiler than a consequence of a process of transmission whereby small bodies of material were circulated separately. It is not surprising that polyphonic music and the troubadour pieces should have been transmitted separately.¹⁸ Again it is not surprising that the religious songs, many of which are Marian lyrics, which became increasingly popular during the thirteenth century,¹⁹ were transmitted in separate collections and indeed it is not improbable that their separate transmission may be indicative of a distinctive performance context.

¹⁷ These categories do not include the late additions made on blank spaces throughout **M** in which *dansas* and *estampies* as well as other genres occur: see the discussion below on the late additions in **M**.

¹⁸ In **M** the troubadour sources are transmitted as a group immediately following the main body of chansons. In **U**, which is one of the few manuscripts not organized systematically, the troubadour songs nonetheless are not distributed randomly: they occur with music (with one exception) in the earlier part of the manuscript on fos. 81–2, 84–91, and without music in the later part of the manuscript on fos. 148^v–150. For an excellent discussion of the motet repertoire, see M. Everist, *French Motets in the Thirteenth Century: Music, Poetry and Genre* (Cambridge, 1994). See also his study 'The Polyphonic Rondeau c.1300: Repertory and Context', *EMH* 15 (1966), 59–96.

¹⁹ A substantial repertoire composed in honour of the Blessed Virgin survives from the 13th c., the most substantial works perhaps being Gautier de Coinci's *Miracles de Notre Dame* and the *Cantigas de Santa María* compiled at the court of Alfonso el Sabio. Many of the 'religious' songs in the trouvère chansonniers are contrafacta of other trouvère chansons. For a study of these contrafacta see H.-H. Räkel, *Die musikalische Erscheinungsform der Trouvèrepoesie* (Publikationen der Schweizerischen Musikforschenden Gesellschaft, ser. 2, 27; Berne, 1977).

The larger collections of *jeux-partis* are found mainly in sources from around the Arras area, among whose poets the genre was particularly popular.

What the accumulation of additional material also underlines is the increasing tendency in the late thirteenth century to categorize repertoires and to compile anthologies. This is reflected in the more systematic organization of **O** and **a**, both of which are quite late sources, the latter dating from the early fourteenth century and the former from the end of the thirteenth or the early fourteenth century. In fact the rather basic monophonic/polyphonic and religious/secular divisions in the 'generic' organization of **a** effectively represents the application on a larger scale of a 'system' which was already taking shape in the 'generic' categories featured among the smaller bodies of material added to the main *chanson* collections in the earlier manuscripts. The only real refinement of generic presentation in **a** lies in providing a separate category for *pastourelles*: in all the other sources *pastourelles* were presented along with the *chansons* within the individual author corpora. The tendency towards generic classification is manifest also in theoretical works from the end of the thirteenth and the first half of the fourteenth century.²⁰ It also becomes increasingly apparent in fourteenth-century anthologies of *trouvère* poetic texts. A classic example is the Oxford chansonnier Bodleian, Douce 308 (**I**). In this manuscript, compiled in the first quarter of the fourteenth century, the poems, whose authors are not acknowledged, are arranged as follows:²¹

fos. 152–78	<i>grans chans</i>
fos. 179–85	<i>estampies</i>
fos. 186–205	<i>jeux-partis</i>
fos. 206–21	<i>pastourelles</i>
fos. 222–50	<i>balletes</i>
fos. 251–97	<i>sottes chansons contre amour</i> , followed by a group of motets

In comparing the repertoires of one of the earlier sources, such as **M**, with that of the later source **a** and the even later source **I**, one is struck by the increasing diversity of genres and, in particular, by the greater prominence of lighter-style genres. In **M** there is only a handful of *pastourelles* among the four hundred or so *chansons* of the main collection and in **a**, although the number of *pastourelles* is still small (only twelve compared with some 207 *chansons*), this lighter-style

²⁰ See especially the group of treatises edited by J. H. Marshall in *The Razos de Trobar of Raimon Vidal and Associated Texts* (London, 1972).

²¹ Each section has its own table and each piece has an order number within that section. For a diplomatic edition see G. Steffens, 'Die altfranzösische Liederhandschrift der Bodleiana in Oxford', *Archiv*, 97 (1896), 283–308; 98 (1897), 59–80, 343–82; 99 (1898), 77–100, 339–88; and 104 (1900), 331–54. It was manifestly not the intention of the compiler of this comparatively late chansonnier, however, to include the melodies of the poetic texts it preserves, since no provision was made for music staves.

genre is nevertheless given greater prominence by being accorded a separate section. By contrast, however, in I there are fifty-seven *pastourelles*, and only ninety-three *grans chans*, a vast difference in the proportion of one genre to the other, although the sum of both these genres in I is still inferior to the new genre, the *ballates*, of which there are no fewer than 188.²²

Manuscript transmission of Thibaut de Champagne and Adam de la Halle

Although very little is known about at what stage the songs were written down and how they were transmitted, there is evidence in the extant sources to suggest that collections of works by Adam de la Halle and possibly also those of Thibaut de Champagne may have had some sort of independent circulation. The principle evidence for this in the case of Thibaut is the unusual degree of consistency in the order of presentation in the various sources of the works of a trouvère whose active career pre-dates the extant manuscript tradition.²³ Furthermore, there is a documented record (albeit of dubious accuracy in certain regards) in the *Grandes chroniques de France* which would appear to suggest that Thibaut himself may have arranged to have his songs written down:

Et pour ce que parfondes pensées engendrent mélancolie, ly fu-il loé d'aucuns sages hommes qu'il estudiast en biaux sons de vielle et en doux chans delitables. Si fist entre luy et Gace Brulé les plus belles chançons et les plus délitables et mélodieuses qui onques fussent oïes en chançon né en vielle. Et les fist escrire en sa sale à Provins et en celle de Troyes, et sont appellées *Les Chançons au Roy de Navarre*.²⁴

And because profound thoughts engender melancholy, he was counselled by certain wise man that he should take refuge in the beautiful sounds of the vielle and in sweet and delectable songs (*chans*). Along with Gace Brulé, he made the most beautiful, delectable, and melodious *chançons* that were ever heard in song or on the vielle. And he had them written down in his hall in Provins and in that of Troyes and they are called *Les Chançons au Roy de Navarre*.

²² The numerical representation of the genres in this source is as follows: *ballates* (188), *grans chans* (93), *pastourelles* (57), *jeux-partis* (36), *sottes chansons contre amour* (22), and *estampies* (19).

²³ For a discussion of the order in which Thibaut's *chansons* occur in the various manuscripts in which they are preserved, see *Les Chansons de Thibaut de Champagne*, ed. A. Wallensköld (SATF; Paris, 1925). See also E. Baumgartner, 'Présentation des chansons de Thibaut de Champagne dans les manuscrits de Paris', in Y. Bellenger and D. Quérueil (eds), *Thibaut de Champagne: Prince et poète au XIII^e s.* (Champagne, 1987), 35–44.

²⁴ *Grandes Chroniques de France*, ed. P. Paris, iv (Paris, 1838). See also *Les Chansons de Thibaut*, ed. Wallensköld, pp. xvi–xvii, where he discusses various questionable aspects of the passage in which this extract occurs. It is, of course, possible that the reference to Thibaut having his songs written down may have been the chronicler's explanation for the origins of an existing collection of Thibaut's *chansons* known to him. Also interesting in this passage is the implication that *chansons* could be performed either '*en chançon*' or '*en vielle*'.

Furthermore, the likelihood that Thibaut's works were already enjoying a separate transmission to more general collections prior to the compilation of the extant sources is suggested by the manner of their inclusion in some of the sources: in *M*, for instance, the index shows that only a small number of Thibaut's songs were available at the time of compilation. However, the scribe left a blank page at the end of the Thibaut entries, presumably in the knowledge that other Thibaut songs existed which he hoped might be included later, as indeed happened. In *T* the collection of Thibaut's songs occupies three gatherings at the beginning of the chansonnier but the original numbering of the folios begins after the Thibaut collection. In most of the chansonniers Thibaut's songs are placed at the head of the collection, presumably in honour of the status of the trouvère king, and it is this status which might also explain an unusually early written circulation of a canon of works by an individual trouvère.

In the case of Adam de la Halle the readings of individual chansons in different manuscripts are remarkably stable by comparison with the works of other trouvères, which suggests that they too may have been written down at an early stage. Because the written tradition was already underway during Adam's life it is perhaps not surprising that his works may have been transmitted in writing at an early date. But there is also iconographical evidence which suggests that Adam may have committed his works to paper himself: in a miniature heading the collection of his works in *A*, Adam is depicted seated at a desk, writing.²⁵ The sources of Adam's works are as follows:

1. The Adam de la Halle Chansonnier *W*, described above;
2. *Wa*, a gathering of eight leaves (bound at the beginning of *W* though not originally belonging to that manuscript) containing fourteen chansons by Adam, all of which are also found in *W* in the same order;
3. *Q*, a music fascicle of a larger manuscript, copied in the early fourteenth century,²⁶ consists of two gatherings of eight leaves and contains thirty-four chansons and *jeux-partis*, of which twenty-three are provided with music, all of which are by Adam with the exception of the last poem, which is by Gillebert de Berneville;
4. *P* and *T* transmit Adam's songs as separate collections appended at a slightly later date to the main body of these thirteenth-century manuscripts;

²⁵ *A*, fo. 133^v. See also Huot, *From Song to Book*, 53–74 for a discussion of the significance of iconographical material in the trouvère chansonniers. An alternative suggestion, made by Schwan (p. 272), is that a nephew of Adam, Jehan Madot, who was a scribe, may have been responsible for the compilation of his uncle's works.

²⁶ This fascicle occupies fos. 311–25 of the manuscript Paris, BNF, f. fr. 1109 (*Q*). On fo. 143 of that manuscript the date 1310 is entered but the music fascicle was probably copied after that date.

5. Adam's works in **a** and **A**, both early fourteenth-century sources, are integrated into the main body of the manuscript, and not included as an appendix. The similar order in which the works are presented demonstrates a close connection between these two sources.²⁷
6. Three other manuscripts contain works by Adam: **R** (which contains two main sequences of his works and a number of individual chansons, dispersed through the manuscript); **O** (in this manuscript Adam's works are integrated into the alphabetic organization of the chansonnier and therefore do not occur as a separate group; they do tend to occur towards the end of each letter group, however); and finally, a number of Adam's works are scattered through the chansonnier **V**.

Manuscript presentation

The majority of the chansonniers have their songs arranged in double columns on each folio (see, for instance, Pl. 1, 4, and 5). However, in a number of manuscripts, namely, **U**, **T**, **L**, **Z**, and **R**, the text and music are written in a single column right across the page (see Pl. 2). With regard to the presentation of individual chansons, a standard format was adopted, with few variations or exceptions. The text of the first strophe was written out under staves on which the accompanying melody was entered. The text of subsequent strophes (usually five or six in all) was entered underneath, generally in prose format, the individual lines being marked off by dots or virgules. Such a format is clearly expedient for the predominantly strophic structure of trouvère song. However, through-composed works such as *descorts* and *lais* obviously had to be notated in full, while the *chansons avec des refrains*, in which each strophe has a different *refrain* (both text and melody), clearly had a distinctive written form as the new *refrains* were interpolated into the text of the second to final strophes.

A slight deviation from the standard presentation is occasionally found, as, for instance, in **T**, where music is provided for the beginning of the second strophe. **T** is one of the manuscripts which does not use double-column format: when the music for the first strophe did not occupy all of the last stave line, the text of the second strophe was begun immediately and the accompanying melody provided.²⁸

²⁷ See J. Stevens, 'The Manuscript Presentation and Notation of Adam de la Halle's Courtly Chansons', in I. Bent (ed.), *Source Materials and the Interpretation of Music: A Memorial to Thurston Dart* (London, 1981), 29–84, esp. 33–5.

²⁸ The provision of the melody for the opening of the second strophe also occurs in the troubadour manuscript **TrbG** (Milan, Biblioteca Ambrosiana, S.P. 4) and in one of the manuscripts of the Gautier de Coinci *Miracles* (Paris, BNF, n. a. fr. 24541). It is rare that there is any variation between the opening segment of the melody for the second strophe and the parallel passage in the opening line of the song: when these do occur they are slight.

With regard to the actual process of writing down this repertoire, the standard procedure would appear to have been that the text was entered first, either under pre-ruled staves, or leaving sufficient space to accommodate the staves. This order is attested by a considerable number of blank staves among the surviving chansonniers, suggesting that the intention of the compiler was certainly to include the melodies but, for whatever reason, they were not entered. The preferred method of overlaying the melody rather than underlaying the text was a pragmatic course as it is far easier to align the notes with the syllables to which they are to be sung than to calculate the exact proportion of space each syllable of text would occupy.

The standard presentation described above, together with other details of the physical aspects of the presentation such as punctuation, decoration, and illustration, serve to highlight the various unities within the individual chanson. Although the poetic texts are, for the most part, presented in a format more akin to prose than poetic layout, the units of song and of individual strophe are conveyed as effectively as in modern layouts by the use of ornamented initials. A large, often decorated, initial clearly marks the beginning of each chanson; a smaller initial identifies the beginning of each subsequent strophe (frequently in alternating blue and red initials); and a still smaller initial is used in some manuscripts at the beginning of each line of text (these small initials also frequently in alternating blue and salmon). A higher unity is also sometimes observed by the use of an even more elaborate or sumptuous initial (sometimes with an accompanying miniature) at the head of a collection of works by an individual trouvère. Indeed the lavishness of these latter initials and accompanying miniatures (frequently containing a substantial amount of gold decoration) is in part responsible for the loss of portions of the repertoire, since they were later pilfered, occasioning the loss of parts of the lyrics immediately adjacent to the initial and/or miniature, or, in some instances, the loss of entire folios: **M** has suffered particularly in this regard.

What was the purpose of these songbooks? In the case of most of the chansonniers the care with which they were recorded (and not least the careful decoration of initials and in some cases, the inclusion of miniatures) gives the impression that a twofold object was being served, namely, the preservation of a lyric repertoire and the creation of a beautiful volume. Given the large format and frequently voluminous content, it is most likely that these volumes were created for private collections to be admired and perused at leisure, and were intended strictly for indoor use. Their physical dimensions would certainly render them less than suitable to be carried around in a horse's or mule's pack by a trouvère travelling between the households of his patrons. The typical dimensions of the principal chansonniers are 30 cm × 20 cm. The dimensions

of a few of the sources are, however, considerably smaller: **U**, for instance is 18 cm × 12 cm.²⁹ The less systematic organization of the material in **U** might be construed as an indication that it was the personal collection of a performer and may have been used by him as an aide-memoire.

Two other chansonniers, **R** and **V**, are distinctive in several respects, not only in their format and less systematic organization, but also in the physical aspect of their presentation. Both manuscripts are less sumptuous in their decoration and less care would appear to have been taken in the process of writing down their lyrics than in the case of most of the other chansonniers, suggesting perhaps that these two chansonniers were compiled in rather different circumstances to the others. Johann Schubert has suggested that **R** is associated with the *puy* at Arras, in which case it is possible that some of the repertoire it contains may have been notated directly from oral performances.³⁰ Parts of the chanson collection in the first part of **V** also display a similarly unsystematic and less than rigorous approach, which might suggest that parts of its repertoire may well have been compiled in like circumstances.

Notation

The interpretation of the musical notation in the trouvère chansonniers has been a subject of controversy since the earliest studies of this repertoire. The central issue of contention was the question of the mensural interpretation of a notation that, for the most part, does not feature a clear system of proportionally distinct rhythmic values. As if the medieval scribes had thrown down the gauntlet, muscologists took up the challenge to discover the key to the interpretation of the rhythms in which these chansons would have been performed. Among the most prominent theories propounded were the modal interpretations of Jean Beck and Pierre Aubry, the *Vierhebigkeit* of Hugo Riemann, the 'free rhythm' of Carl Appel, and the isosyllabic interpretation of Ugo Sesini.³¹ The question is far from resolved today and current musicology still embraces a number of different approaches. These range from modifications of the modal theory (Hans Tischler, for instance, still uses the pervading rhythms of the rhythmic *modi* though less rigidly than Beck and Aubry, introducing a greater degree of flexibility by allowing

²⁹ Other sources of small dimensions are London, BL Egerton 274 (15 cm × 11 cm), **Wa** (18 cm × 12 cm), **P** (19 cm × 13 cm) and **W** (21 cm × 14 cm).

³⁰ See J. Schubert, *Die Handschrift Paris, Bibl. Nat. fr. 1591: Kritische Untersuchung der Trouvèrehandschrift R* (Frankfurt am Main, 1963), 29–32.

³¹ There were, of course, others who proposed similar theories. It is not necessary, however, to summarize again here the vast literature on this subject; a good historical survey of the same is undertaken by Burkhard Kippenberg in *Der Rhythmus im Minnesang* (Munich, 1962).

a mixture of different modes in a single piece)³² to a sophisticated modification of Sesini's isosyllabism. John Stevens argued that the ideal of a balanced and equal relationship between the poem and the melody is most aptly served by an isosyllabic rendering, but one which is 'not inflexible, rigid or metronomic'³³ and Hendrik van der Werf advocates a variation of Appel's 'free rhythm'.³⁴ The diverse approaches have inevitably resulted in the publication of widely differing and sometimes quirky editions which make the task of interpretation even more difficult. Aubry's transcriptions in modern notation of trouvère songs from the Arsenal chansonnier (K) present such challenges to the interpreter with their appoggiatura-and groppo-like configurations, reminiscent of notational practices of later centuries. In his desire to superimpose his theories of rhythmic interpretation on the music, he selects certain notes, in an apparently arbitrary manner, and relegates them to a secondary role by writing them in small notation.

Example 2.1 (all examples at the end of the chapter) presents three editions of the opening two lines of the chanson from K 'Se j'ai esté' (see reproduction from the original manuscript in Pl. 1). The first (Ex. 2.1(a)), by Aubry, is somewhat challenging in the complexities of its orthography; moreover, it also represents a very subjective measured interpretation of the original notation, which is in the standard unmeasured square notation.³⁵ The second transcription (Ex. 2.1(b)) is by Werner Bittinger, a disciple of the Gennrich school, and although his transcription appears somewhat 'cleaner', it is equally subjective with regard to mensural interpretation; furthermore, his 'edition' is a conflation of the readings of a number of different manuscripts. Ex. 2.1(c), by van der Werf, is taken from a comparative edition of the two main versions of the chanson (K and T). Here, all symbols of the original notation are transcribed as round black notes, leaving decisions regarding the application, or not, of rhythm and metre to the interpreter. Such a system treats the notation primarily as a pitch notation; the only

³² Higinio Anglés had already adapted a more flexible approach in his largely modal transcriptions of the *Cantigas de Santa María* begun in the 1930s. See Anglés, *La música de las cantigas de Santa María del Rey Alfonso el Sabio* (Barcelona, 1943–64). More recently, one of the principal proponents of a type of modal interpretation is Tischler in the anthology *Chanter m'estuet: Songs of the Trouvères*, ed. S. Rosenberg and H. Tischler (London, 1981), and in his 1997 fifteen-volume edition of the complete trouvère repertoire, *Trouvère Lyrics with Melodies: Complete Comparative Edition*, ed. H. Tischler, 15 vols. (CMM 107; Neuhausen, 1997) (cited below as *TLM*).

³³ See J. Stevens, *Words and Music in the Middle Ages: Song, Narrative, Dance and Drama, 1050–1350* (Cambridge, 1986), 504. In the final chapter of this book Stevens outlines his objections to the other theories and presents a rationale of his own isosyllabic theory.

³⁴ See van der Werf, *The Chansons of the Troubadours and Trouvères*, 35–44 and his article 'Deklamatorischer Rhythmus in den Chansons der Trouvères', *Die Musikforschung*, 20 (1967), 122–44. For van der Werf's strong objections to the modal theory, see his review of Tischler and Rosenberg's, *Chanter m'estuet*, in *JAMS* 35 (1982), 539–54.

³⁵ *Le Chansonnier de l'Arsenal*, ed. P. Aubry and A. Jeanroy (Paris, 1909–10), 19–20.

symbol singled out as having any distinctive properties is the *plica* which is identified by a hook attached to the notehead.

Given the protracted controversy regarding the question of rhythm, it is all the more surprising that a detailed study has not been carried out on the notation in the trouvère manuscripts. Some valuable work has been done on individual sources and aspects of their notation,³⁶ and some notable large-scale palaeographic studies of medieval notations discuss the notation of trouvère song in the wider context of medieval notations.³⁷ The broader scope of these studies, however, has not allowed a discussion of notational aspects in all of the trouvère sources. The intention in the present discussion is not to undertake a detailed palaeographical study of each of the trouvère manuscripts, but rather to provide an overview of the notation of the main chanson collections in all of the principal trouvère sources, and to establish where the sources stand in relation to each other on the basis of their notation.

With regard to the musical notation, the trouvère manuscript sources do not conveniently subdivide into groups corresponding to relationships established on the basis of content, presentation, or provenance, and, indeed, individual manuscripts are often characterized by detailed notational features unique to that source. The most valid categorization on the basis of the notation of the main chanson collections corresponds to a loose chronological division into an earlier and a slightly later phase of the manuscript tradition. Given that it is extremely difficult to date exactly the individual manuscript sources, and furthermore, given that the extant chansonniers under consideration would appear to have been compiled within a relatively short period, the chronological division of the sources is tentative. Thus, in the present discussion the terms first- and second-phase manuscripts or earlier and later manuscripts are used to distinguish between the following two loose categories: by first or early phase manuscripts is understood those manuscripts dating from the last quarter of the thirteenth century (the main body of KNPX, M, and T) and by second or later phase manuscripts is understood manuscripts dating from the end of the

³⁶ Of the facsimile editions A (Arras) by Aubry, K (Arsenal) by Aubry and Jeanroy, M (Roï), and O (Cangé) by Beck, and U (St-Germain) by Meyer and Raynaud, only the two by Beck include any critical study of the notation. The notation of U has, however, been the subject of a short study by I. Parker ('Notes on the Chansonnier S. Germain-des-Prés', *ML*, 60 (1979), 261–80), and V has been the subject of a doctoral dissertation by F. MacAlpine: 'Un chansonnier médiéval: Édition et étude du ms. Paris, Bibl. Nat., fr. 24406' (Doctoral diss., 3e cycle, Paris, 1976).

³⁷ Two of the most useful studies of medieval notations are provided in the series *Paläographie der Musik, nach den Plänen Leo Schnades*, which has a useful general introduction by W. Arlt in vol. i/1 (*Die einstimmige Musik des Mittelalters*) on 'Aspekte der musikalischen Paläographie', and a study of the notation of 'Einstimmige ausserliturgische Musik' by E. Jammers in vol. i/4 (*Aufzeichnungsweisen der einstimmigen ausserliturgischen Musik des Mittelalters*), and in B. Stäblein's *Schriftbild der einstimmigen Musik des Mittelalters* (Musikgeschichte in Bildern, 3/iv; Leipzig, 1975).

thirteenth century or the beginning of the fourteenth century (V, W, O, L and B, R, Wx, Q, A, Z, and a).³⁸

Although such a chronological binary divide has not formerly been made in respect of the music, to a large extent it accords with the tentative dating already proposed by palaeographers and literary scholars. The following discussion of the notation in these source is based on the notation of the main chanson collections in each source, and except when referred to specifically, does not include the notation of other lesser-represented genres (*lais*, *descorts*, *motets*, *rondeaux*, etc.), nor, unless otherwise indicated, the smaller collections of material appended in a later hand to the main body of individual chansonniers.

The division of the sources into 'first' and 'second' phase manuscripts does not signify vastly different notational systems. Essentially, the notation in all of the sources is based on the so-called 'square notation' found in central French sources in the late twelfth and early thirteenth centuries. One notable exception is the Saint-Germain chansonnier, U, in which all but one of the 177 *trouvère* or *troubadour* melodies are notated in so-called 'Messine' (or 'Lothringian') neumes (graphic signs that represent the pitch movement of a melody). The particular notation of this manuscript distinguishes itself from earlier sources featuring this notational style in that here the neumes are clearly notated on a four-line stave (just as in the square notation of the other *trouvère* sources), whereas, generally, the earlier manuscripts in this style either gave no precise indication of pitch or were loosely organized around a single line.³⁹

Orthography apart, the notational system in U is basically the same as square notation.⁴⁰ Both notational styles use the two standard clefs, C and F (Pl. 1 and 2, respectively) that move to different lines of the stave so the notation of a song can sit comfortably in the middle of the stave. It will be apparent that the notation of U (see Pl. 2) shares the two fundamental characteristics of the prevalent square notation found in other *trouvère* sources: it is essentially a pitch notation and a system codified for music with text, a *notatio cum litera*, which is organized syllabically: when a group of notes are intended to be sung to a single syllable they are joined together to form a single neume.⁴¹ The notation of U has no distinguishing mensural properties. The U reading of 'Li douz termines' given in Pl. 2 can be compared with that of M given in Pl. 12: although the melody varies slightly between the two manuscripts and is notated at

³⁸ Because of its unique notation among *trouvère* sources, U, which probably pre-dates the Phase I sources, is omitted from this categorization.

³⁹ For this reason Stäblein (*Schreibbild*, 190) labels the notation of U as 'Metzer Neumen, Epoche II'.

⁴⁰ The manuscript contains 352 lyrics: all of those preserved with music are located in the first section, between fos. 1 and 91, with the exception of one late addition in square notation on fo. 170^v.

⁴¹ A description of the differences between *notatio cum litera* and *notatio sine litera* is given by Anon. IV; see F. Reckow, *Der Musiktraktat des Anonymous 4*, 2 vols. (BzAMw 4-5; Wiesbaden, 1967), i. 48.

different pitches, the parallels in the function of the neumatic and square symbols will be immediately apparent. The notation of U, therefore, is, in practical terms, merely a variation, or perhaps more accurately, a pre-echo of the prevalent square notation found in the other sources.


Despite the protracted controversy over the question of the mensural interpretation of trouvère melodies and in particular the very persistent argument that has been made in favour of the six rhythmic modes, the only strictly mensural notational system is found in the small number of late additions to M. Otherwise, among the main body of sources the evidence for a possible mensural interpretation of the melodies is based essentially on one source, O (Cangé), although only a remarkably small proportion of the repertoire it transmits is notated 'mensurally'. It is true, however, that perhaps more than any other source, the notation of O, as discussed below, bears traces of a mensural notation: this, arguably, has distorted received opinion on the question of the notation of trouvère sources in general. The vast majority of the sources are in a notation which, while pellucidly clear with regard to pitch, does not suggest any regular mensural interpretation.

Phase One sources









KNPX, M, and T

A consistency of notational style can be observed in a central corpus of the sources of trouvère lyric, namely the main body of chansons in the following manuscripts (i.e. excluding the separate appended collections and the other later additions in individual manuscripts): the KNPX group, T (the Noailles chansonnier), and M (the Roi chansonnier). M has frequently been discussed (along with O) in the controversy concerning the rhythmic interpretation of trouvère song since it contains some pieces which are notated in what has been described as mensural notation. While it is true that M contains a handful of pieces in a measured notation, these occur only among the late additions to the manuscript, whether in the material appended to the end of the manuscript or the melodies entered in a later hand on staves in the main corpus: what has not been stated clearly enough, however, is that in the central core of M (fos. 1-186), the trouvère chansons it contains are notated in the same unmeasured square notation found in the KNPX group.

Unlike the system of square mensural notation outlined by Franco of Cologne in his *Ars cantus mensurabilis*, which is based on two distinct single-note forms, the *longa* (ſ) and the *brevis* (•), the square notation in KNPX, M, and T, for the most part, uses only one single-note form. Individual scribal habits in the

sources gives rise to slight graphic variation in this form. The most common form (found in K, N, P, and M) has a non-angular notehead which is either unstemmed or has a very short, barely perceptible, stem on the right;⁴² slight graphic variants of this single-note form are found in T, where the note has a longer stem, or in X, where the noteheads are more square, with quite long, if now very faint, thin stems attached to the right-hand side. Such slight graphic variation, while of no consequence to the notational system, nonetheless characterizes scribal habit in individual sources, and, with regard to *plicae* and ligatures, the individuality of scribes is manifest not only in the graphic variation of individual symbols (as for instance T's characteristic slight stem on the left of the first note of a ligature  but also in the preference for one ligature form over another. While graphic variation in individual notational symbols will not be addressed here in any great detail, a marked preference for individual symbols or a noticeable exclusion of others will occasionally be highlighted. Very occasionally two single notes, on the same pitch, are set to a single syllable, as, for instance, on the last syllable of 'failliz' in Pl. 10 (fifth system).

Plicae. The *plica* is one of the most intriguing symbols in medieval music notation. On the question of its interpretation, medieval theorists offer conflicting information. While Odington suggests that the secondary note of the *plica* was performed at the interval of a second above or below the main note,⁴³ Magister Lambertus suggests that a *plica* divides a sound in the interval of a second (tone or semitone), a major or minor third, a fourth, or a fifth.⁴⁴ Franco, in his *Ars cantus mensurabilis*, merely states that the *plica* divides a sound into low and high,⁴⁵ and Jacques de Liège quotes Magister Lambertus on the issue of the melodic interpretation of the *plica*, although Franco's treatise was obviously also among the sources on which he drew.⁴⁶ However, in the sources quoted here, no reference is made to secular or vernacular repertoire.

On the basis of the orthography of the *plica* in the trouvère sources, it seems likely that, almost invariably, the pitch implied in the stem or tail of the *plica* is a second above or below the pitch of the main note to which it is attached.⁴⁷ Two ascending and two descending simple *plica* forms are used in these sources: ,  and , . Each of these forms also occurs in conjunction with a preceding single note: , , , and . To distinguish the



⁴² Very occasionally, single notes with a longer, more defined stem occur, particularly on the last neume of a line.









⁴³ Walter Odington, *Summa de speculatione musicae*, ed. F. F. Hammond (CSM 14; AIM, 1970), 129.












⁴⁴ CS, i. 273 45. Franco of Cologne, *Ars cantus mensurabilis*, 41–3.





⁴⁶ *Speculum musicae*, ed. R. Bragard, 7 vols. (CSM 3; AIM, 1955–73), vii. 47–8.



⁴⁷ For a discussion of the use of the *plica* in specific examples, see the section on multiple variants in the chansons of Audefrois le Bastard in Ch. 3.



latter clearly from the graphic forms of the single *plica* they will be referred to here as ‘compound’ *plicae*.⁴⁸ A further distinctive compound *plica* symbol, , and the much rarer ascending form , are referred to here as ‘double’ *plicae*, and are found in the separate collections of Adam de la Halle chansons appended to P and T; they are rarely used in Phase 1 sources. The vocabulary of notational symbols in this group of manuscripts is quite rich, featuring a variety of binary, ternary, quarternary, and larger ligatures, *ligaturae plicatae*, and *coniuncturae*.








Binary and ternary ligatures. The *ligaturae binariae* found in KNPX, M, and T include two basic simple forms, one ascending,  (the *podatus*), and one descending,  (the *clivis*) and two corresponding ‘compound’ forms:  and . Some manuscripts (notably K, N, and P) employ an additional descending *binaria*, the oblique . The most common plicated binary forms used are , , and .














The standard ternary ligatures used in the ‘Phase 1’ sources are the three-note *porrectus* form  (where the first two notes are represented by an oblique), the ternary *torculus* , the ternary *scandicus* symbol , and the ternary *climacus*  (the variant, whereby the last two notes are represented by an oblique, , is also found in some manuscripts). While the standard *climacus* figure typically notates descending conjunct steps, it is occasionally used to notate a sequence of three descending pitches that are at intervals greater than a second from each other. In addition to *climacus* ligatures, all of the manuscripts of this group also employ the *coniunctura ternaria*  to notate three-note descending figures.⁴⁹ Two plicated ternary *scandicus* symbols are used:  (where a single *nota plicata* is written immediately after the *ternaria*) and  (where the final notehead of the *ternaria* is turned to the right to allow the *plica* dash signifier to be attached). Other plicated ternary forms are , , and .

Quarternary and larger ligatures. A variety of four-note ligatures is found in this notation. The quarternary *porrectus* form involving three pitches, where the second and third notes are at the same pitch, occurs in all the manuscripts. It is a composite ligature, made up of two *binaria*, the common descending *clivis* form, together with the common *podatus* form: . The quarternary note group  is notated in two ways: either  or . Apart from T, where the scribe

⁴⁸ While the ascending and descending simple *plica* forms can be seen to derive from the liquescent neumes, the *epiphonus* () and *cephalicus* () , so too the compound *plicae* forms can be seen to have a precedent in the *pressus* and *pes quassus* forms in neumatic notation.

⁴⁹ Slight graphic variants of this *coniunctura ternaria* include the use of a rhomboid note as a first element, , occasionally found in P and N, or , with a stem on the left, occasionally found in M.

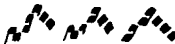
tends to avoid the latter form where the first two notes are notated by an oblique, both forms appear in all the manuscripts. A quaternary *porrectus* shape, where the interval between the penultimate and ultimate notes of the ligature is greater than a second, is notated thus: . The three-pitch *torculus* figure with a repetition of the second pitch is again notated by the juxtaposition of two *binaria* forms: . The quaternary *torculus* figure  is notated variously by the square-note ligature , or by a combination of square and rhomboid notes in a *coniunctura* figure . Graphic variants of this ligature include the following:  and .

The two melodic shapes  and  are notated with the *scandicus* ligatures  (alternatively ) and  (alternatively ), respectively. The ubiquitous melodic figure  is notated by a combination of two *clivis* figures: . Other common four-note melodic figures are a simple descending four-note figure , most frequently notated as a *coniunctura quarternaria* , and the figure , notated variously as  and .

Square notation was developed to notate the chant repertoire and it is borrowed for this secular repertoire. The improvisatory way in which it is adapted to notate these songs is reflected in the variety of ways the scribes construct five-, six-, and seven-note ligatures (and occasionally even larger ligatures) to accommodate the more florid melodies:

ligaturae quinae: 

ligaturae sexenariae: 

ligaturae septenariae: 

ligaturae plicatae: 

All of these symbols are composed of various combinations of the single notes, *plicae*, ligatures, and *coniuncturae* mentioned above.

The rich vocabulary of notational symbols in these Phase I manuscripts and the use of a variety of symbols to notate standard melodic figures bespeak a certain fluidity in this notational system which is in marked contrast, for instance, to the rigidity of a mensural notational system (such as the roughly contemporary system codified by Franco of Cologne), where individual ligature forms have a distinct mensural significance, depending on such crucial details as whether a note has a stem or not, or in what direction the final notehead of a ligature is turned. There is no concerted effort in these core Phase I *trouvère* sources to invest the notational symbols with a mensural significance. It would not require

a very sophisticated notational system, for instance, to indicate a mensural reading for 'Li dous termines' in K (see Pl. 12), but no such attempt is made.

The lack of consistency between the notational symbols used to notate individual chansons in different manuscripts would appear to suggest that individual symbols have no specific meaning apart from the notation of pitch, and that they are therefore interchangeable with other symbols capable of indicating the same pitches and note groupings. Ex. 2.2 provides an interesting illustration of the different symbols used to notate a single passage of a song in the four manuscripts of the KNPX group. While, as one would expect in this closely related group, the melodies are faithfully copied to a very large extent using the same symbols, it is interesting that where one of the scribes appears deliberately to have chosen an alternative symbol, here as elsewhere, the *plica* is often involved. For instance, on the fourth syllable (the first syllable of 'vaincuz'), K, N, and P have a *plica* and X has a *binaria*. This does not imply that the two symbols are synonymous, although comments by some medieval theorists mentioned above would suggest that, in its chequered career, one of the functions of the *plica* was merely to notate two pitches. Other theorists, however, identify the *plica* with other functions: Johannes de Garlandia, for instance, indicated that the *plica* was used both to notate the sixth rhythmic mode and as a means of indicating *fractio modi* in the system of modal notation, that is, for purely rhythmic purposes,⁵⁰ but this is clearly not the case here.

An intriguing comment by Magister Lambertus suggests that the *plica* was a type of vocal ornament: 'Fit autem plica in voce per compositionem epiglotti cum repercussione gutturis subtiliter inclusa. [The *plica* is sung by a partial closing of the epiglottis while subtly vibrating the throat.]'⁵¹ A number of other references also suggest that its significance pertains to the execution of the syllable(s) it accompanies.⁵² Without embarking on the long and complicated history of the *plica* (which is a separate study in itself), suffice it to say that the *plica*, which derives from the ascending and descending liquescent neumes, the *epiphonus* and the *cephalicus*, occurs in association with the following phonological contexts: it is found primarily with the liquid

⁵⁰ See Johannes de Garlandia: *De mensurabili musica*, ed. E. Reimer, 2 vols. (BzAMw 10–11; Wiesbaden, 1971), i. 56. Odington, *Summa*, 139 objects to the use of plicated ligatures to express the sixth rhythmic mode since *fractio modi* in the second rhythmic mode is notated in the same way, thus giving rise to an ambiguity.

⁵¹ CS, i. 273. This statement is repeated by later theorists without further elucidation: see Jacques de Liège, *Speculum musicae*, vii. 47–8.

⁵² Theorists who make reference to liquescence include Hucbald (GS, i. 118), Guido d'Arezzo (*Micrologus*, ed. J. Smits van Waesberghe (CSM 4; AIM, 1955), 175–7), Hieronymus de Moravia (*Tractatus de musica*, ed. S. M. Cserba (Regensburg, 1935), 175–6), Elias Salomonis (GS, iii. 20), and Odington (*Summa*, 129 and *De speculatione musicae*, trans. J. A. Huff (MSD 31; Rome, 1973), 10–11).

consonants l, m, n, and r (particularly when followed immediately by another consonant) and in the troubadour and trouvère repertoires it also serves a broader function in relation to the articulation of other consonant clusters, notably involving s/z, t, and, less frequently, d and g; or with diphthongs (and, in the vernacular repertoires, also with triphthongs); and in connection with certain instances where contracted forms are used or elision occurs).⁵³ In Ex. 2.2 the *plica* on the fourth syllable occurs in the standard context of a double consonant, the first of which is the 'liquid' consonant 'n': the actual manner of performance could involve either the insertion of a paragoge between the two consonants, or, alternatively, the secondary note (*f*) could be sung as the velum is lowered and before the tip of the tongue reaches the alveolar position required for the articulation of the nasal consonant.⁵⁴ The fact that in Ex. 2.2 X has an ordinary *binaria* in the place of a *plica* in K, N, and P does not invalidate the particular interpretation of the *plica* offered above: if it is correct, then the physiological process is one which in any case would take place almost unconsciously in performance and, as such, certain scribes may have considered it unnecessary to indicate it in the notation.

Thus, in the notational system of KNPX, M, and T the *plica* is one symbol which would appear to have had a meaning other than merely notating pitch. Despite the fact that its use is not consistent between different manuscripts or even within a single manuscript, and while it is arguable that in certain instances the *plica* is used interchangeably with other notational symbols, it is nonetheless striking that in these Phase I manuscripts, there is a remarkably high coincidence between its use and the 'traditional' phonological contexts mentioned above. For this reason it is difficult to regard its use as a merely archaic and redundant scribal habit (not dissimilar to the retention of redundant consonants in the orthography of some of the text scribes), a musical-palaeographical legacy from the use of liquescent neumes in earlier chant manuscripts. The apparent lack of uniformity in the application of *plica* within and between manuscripts need not represent a denial of any autonomous significance for the *plica*; instead, and more plausibly

⁵³ Two of the earlier substantial studies of the use of *plica* in plainchant repertoires are A. Mocquereau, 'Neumes-accents liquescents ou semi-vocaux', in *Le Répons-graduel Justus et palma* (PalMus, 2; Solesmes, 1891), 37–86 and H. Freistedt, *Die liqueszierenden Noten des gregorianischen Chorals* (Fribourg, 1929). Both studies document the use of *plica* on liquid consonants, diphthongs, etc. Two more recent studies of other repertoires also corroborate this function: see D. Hiley, 'The Plica and Liquescent', in *Gordon Athol Anderson: In Memoriam* (Musicological Studies, 49; Henryville, Ottawa, and Binningen, 1984), 379–86 and M. Huglo, 'La Notation wisigothique est-elle plus ancienne que les autres notations européennes?', in *España en la música del Occidente* (Madrid, 1987), 19–26.

⁵⁴ For a more elaborate description of the phonetic process involved here see Larry M. Hyman, *Phonology: Theory and Analysis* (Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1975), 12. What effectively is involved in this type of context is that some of the acoustic properties of nasalization are being realized on the preceding vowel.

perhaps, it may simply represent the individual choice on the part of the performer or scribe to use, or not to use, this 'ornament' in appropriate contexts.⁵⁵

One characteristic extension in the vernacular repertoire of the traditional liquescent association of *plica* is illustrated in the notational variation in X from K, N, and P on the final syllable of Ex.2.2, where X has a compound *plica* in place of two single notes (of square or rhomboid shape) in the other three sources. In both the troubadour and trouvère repertoires *plicae* do occur in association with the consonants *s/z* in word final position, particularly when the following word begins with a consonant, as it does here. An alternative, if less likely, explanation of the use of a *plica* in this context is that it is intended to indicate an emphasis, perhaps realized as a slight durational accent, to mark this final syllable of line 5 of the chanson.

Apart from the instance of the *plica*, the search for additional meanings, other than the notation of pitch, for individual notational symbols as used in the first-phase sources would appear to be a vain pursuit. Equally fruitless is any search for an additional autonomous mensural significance for individual symbols, *plica* included, let alone a pragmatic mensural system. The notation in these sources makes no attempt whatever to such an end: in a style in which many songs have passages where consecutive syllables are set to single notes, no attempt is made to distinguish between two (or more) proportionally distinct values (of relative long and short notes), which lies at the heart of any mensural system. The ligatures used are taken over from existing square forms (which, in turn, derive from earlier neumatic notations) but no effort is made to set up any system of recognizable measured patterns for these ligatures, as, for instance, in the rather simple patterning set up (using the same basic vocabulary of ligatures) to identify the rhythmic modes in modal notation. Nor are contemporary efforts to adopt or refine these standard ligatures (by the addition or elimination of stems, or by a system of turning noteheads in different directions) adopted or emulated: the *plica* forms codified by the thirteenth-century theorist Franco of Cologne, which clearly distinguish between four distinct mensural functions of *plica* (using different combinations of short and long stems), are not employed, nor is the simple expedient of attaching a *cum opposita proprietate* signifier to a ligature (e.g. the oblique symbol with the ascending stem on the left), indicating shorter note values, adopted.

It is surely not unreasonable to suggest that this notation was used because it was considered perfectly adequate for the purposes it was required to serve: what

⁵⁵ Two theorists, admittedly in different times and places, suggest that the use of liquescence was optional. Interestingly, whereas the earlier theorist, Guido d'Arezzo, says that although it can be substituted by a 'full sound', the practice of liquescence is both pleasing and common (*Micrologus*, 177), the 13th-c. theorist Elias Salomonis says it is less desirable than having a 'full' sound (GS, iii. 20).

the notation in the Phase 1 manuscripts does well is to notate pitch unambiguously, and the range of the notational vocabulary is such that it affords a considerable flexibility in notating the various note groupings and melodic configurations in trouvère melodies. The success of this notational system in dealing with the neumatic character of many trouvère melodies is witnessed in the unproblematic text underlay that characterizes trouvère (and troubadour) song.

Phase Two sources

The remainder of the manuscripts, grouped here loosely as 'Phase 2' sources, are all slightly later chronologically than the sources discussed above. With the exception of the fragmentary sources **L** and **B**, and **Wa**, all of the Phase 2 sources (**Z**, **W**, **Q**, **a**, **A**, **V**, **R**, **O**) contain *jeux-partis*, the genre so popular among Arras poets, and with the exception of **O**, the genre is substantially represented in each of the sources.⁵⁶ In addition, apart from **Z** and the two fragments, **B** and **L**, all include works by Adam de la Halle, one of the last great practitioners of trouvère art, and one of the most celebrated Arras poets.












All of the Phase 2 sources feature notational modifications of the notation in the Phase 1 sources. The modifications involved range from a distinctive or abundant use of individual notational symbols found in the Phase 1 sources, to the use of symbols not found in the earlier group which reflect the lateral influence of contemporary notational systems. Thus the Phase 2 sources do not form a single cohesive group, though certain similarities can be drawn between individual manuscripts. In the following discussion only selective aspects of the notation of individual sources are highlighted; where possible facsimile illustrations are chosen from among songs that are discussed in more detail in subsequent chapters.

L, **B**; and **Z**




The fragmentary sources **L** and **B** preserve only an early repertoire, the former having songs mostly by Brulé or the Chastelain de Coucy, and the latter mostly by Thibaut de Champagne. Although the sources themselves date from the early fourteenth century, and thus belong to the slightly later chronological phase of the manuscript tradition, the notational system and vocabulary are essentially










⁵⁶ It is interesting in this regard that some connection with the Artois/Picardy region or with the town of Arras has been proposed in discussions of provenance of all of these sources, again with the exception of **O**, for which Beck (*Cange*, ii. 13–22) suggests a possible Burgundian provenance. However, because most of the manuscripts do not have a consistent orthography, betraying conflicting dialect traits in different sections of the repertoire they contain (which perhaps suggests that they were compiled from various sources), it is notoriously difficult to pinpoint a definitive provenance for individual manuscripts.


















the same as that of the earlier sources, with only very slight modifications. As in the Phase 1 sources, there is generally only one single-note form, but whereas in the Phase 1 sources it was predominantly (though not always) a non-angular notehead with only a very short stem, or none at all, in **L** and **B** the standard single-note form is an angular notehead to which a stem of medium length is attached. Because **L** is the larger of the two fragments (having some fifty songs with music as opposed to a dozen in **B**), its vocabulary of symbols is slightly larger and thus it is used as the basis of this discussion.

Plica notes are noticeably scarce in **L**, the only forms used being the descending compound *plica*  and the simple descending *plica* . Many of the ligatures standard in Phase 1 sources are found, but the notation of **L** also features a number of forms with the final notehead turned to the right, e.g. , , , and . Although such forms facilitate the addition of *plica* stems when required, plicated ligatures are relatively scarce in this source. Obliques do not occur as binary ligatures but they are used in larger ligatures, e.g. , , , , and .

The most distinctive feature of the notation of **L**, however, is the abundant use of vertical strokes at unusually frequent intervals on the musical staves (see Pl. 3, and compare the notation in **L** of this song, 'Se j'ai esté', with that of manuscript **K** in Pl. 1). When such vertical strokes are used in the Phase 1 sources it is generally to identify points in the melody corresponding to the line endings of the poetic texts, or to mark off note groups when the text and music alignment is poor, owing, for instance, to a scribal error, or an erasure. In **L**, the vertical strokes punctuating the notational symbols on the stave not only identify the points corresponding to *caesurae* and line endings of the poetic texts but the scribe of **L** quite unnecessarily marks off virtually every two or three neumes, at points corresponding to the ends of words in the texts, even when there is no ambiguity in the distribution of neumes over text syllables. Despite their frequency, there is no systematic regularity in their use on the stave that could possibly suggest that these vertical strokes carry any mensural significance, such as the marking off of perfections (rhythmic units of three). Their use could suggest either that the scribe was not very familiar with the repertoire or the style (text or music), or that he had little faith in the abilities of those who might peruse his transcriptions. It is true that in general the notation of both **L** and **B** is somewhat shoddy and there are a number of instances where component parts of a ligature are not drawn closely enough together, thus giving rise to ambiguities. Furthermore, in both these manuscripts there is an unusually high instance of the non-observance of elision in the text, the elisions consequently (and one suspects, unwittingly) frequently being ignored when the neumes were entered.

In the notation of Z (Siena) there is only one single-note form: an angular notehead with a short or medium-length stem attached. While, again, the ligatures used in this manuscript are, for the most part, the same as those found in the Phase 1 sources, Z tends to select one ligature form for each of the ternary and quaternary figurations, rather than using a variety of ligature forms, as happens in the Phase 1 group. Obliques are used frequently in the larger ligatures: in Z's vocabulary of *quinaria*, for instance, the oblique is used variously to notate two, three, or even four notes: , , and . This is noticeably different from the Phase 1 sources in which such large ligatures tend to be composed of square and rhomboid shapes.

An aspect of the notation of Z that distinguishes it from the Phase 1 group relates to its prolific use of a variety of *plicae*. With regard to the single *plicae*, the four standard forms (, , , and ) are used in Z. In the case of the compound *plicae*, however, while the standard ascending form  is used, the descending form  is replaced in Z by the double *plica* , which is also used very frequently in the Adam de la Halle sources Q and Wa (see Pl. 4 and 5). What is most striking in Z is the prolific use of this double *plica*, and indeed of *plica* forms in general. The interpretation of the double *plica* is not entirely clear. Did it evolve merely as an alternative form of the descending compound *plica*? If so, its melodic interpretation would be . However if the symbol were to be interpreted at face value (i.e. two single *plicae* in succession), then the interpretation would be . As a melodic figure, or vocal ornament, the latter is very distinctive, and if one is to interpret the symbol thus, its abundant use in Z is all the more striking. Although the double *plica* may have displaced the compound descending *plica* in L, the fact that other *plica* forms are used suggests that there was a continuing exploitation of a distinction between compound or double and single *plicae*, with the former, presumably imparting, if not a stronger durational accent, then at least a greater emphasis, if only by virtue of the larger number of notes involved. There is no suggestion, however, that any of the *plica* forms as used in Z has a fixed durational value. While most instances of the use of *plicae*, including the double *plica*, are in expected phonological contexts, with a high proportion being used in association with the liquids l, m, n, and r, it is not inconceivable that the distinctiveness of this vocal ornament may have resulted in the double *plica* acquiring a melodic autonomy.

Not surprisingly, there is a strong representation of plicated ligatures and *coniuncturae*, including simple plicated forms where the *plica* indicated by the addition of a stem to the last note of the ligature (, , , , , , , and ). The following compound and double *plica* forms are used: , , , , , , , , and . The use and proliferation of these plicated forms in Z, together with a marginal increase in their use in contexts not





‘traditionally’ associated with *plicae*, would suggest that this source may reflect an individual style (whether of an individual performer or group of performers or only of the scribe) in which the *plica* played a part in a more ornate melodic style (if still employed for the most part in ‘traditional’ contexts). Thus a plicated ternary ligature would be employed, not interchangeably with a quaternary ligature, but as an ornamented version of a ternary ligature. This is possibly also true, if to a lesser extent, of the ascending single *plica* that, in one sense, is effectively an ‘ornamented’ single note.

W

The three sources **W**, **Wa**, and **Q** transmit, almost exclusively, works by Adam de la Halle. Although **Wa** is bound at the beginning of **W** and the fourteen Adam chansons it contains are presented in exactly the same order as in the main manuscript **W**, there are various notational differences (as well as melodic variants) between these two sources. Since a detailed study of the notation of each of these sources exists,⁵⁷ only a few aspects of their notation will be highlighted here.

In a number of ways **W** is a unique source among the trouvère chansonniers, not only in aspects of its content and presentation (with its *opera omnia* of Adam de la Halle, carefully ordered by genre) but also in its notational distinctions between genre groups. While the motets, polyphonic *rondeaux*, and monophonic *refrains* interpolated into Adam’s literary works are clearly notated in a system based on the alternation between long and short values, the chansons and *jeux-partis* are in a notation akin to that found in the Phase 1 sources, where no attempt is made to notate the melodies in any regular measured patterns. The music in the *Jeu de Robin et Marion*, for instance (see the opening of this work in Pl. 15), uses two distinct single-note forms, a *longa* ♯ and a *brevis* ♮; these, together with the use of the *cum opposita proprietate* signifier, clearly convey the simple pattern of alternating long and short values (with the predominant short–long rhythm) of the melody. By contrast, the notation of the chansons (see Pl. 13) in the same manuscript uses for the most part only one single-note form, the predominant unstemmed form of the Phase 1 sources. Single notes with stems are occasionally used, particularly at line ends (e.g. the end of the penultimate line of the song (second column, second system, third neume). However, no attempt is made by the scribe of **W** to indicate measured melodic patterns in his notation of the chansons, although the instances of the use of stemmed notes in specific contexts may borrow (if unconsciously) the connotation of lengthening from the mensural system used in notating the other genres.

⁵⁷ See Stevens, ‘The Manuscript Presentation and Notation’.











Other symbols used in notating the chansons in **W** also reflect the lateral influence of the mensural notational system used in the other genres in **W**. Of the manuscripts discussed thus far, **W** is the first to feature *cum opposita proprietate* ligatures in the notation of chansons: the four forms used are: , , , and . In addition, the single *plicae* found in **W** are the same as those classified by Franco of Cologne in his *Ars cantus mensurabilis*:

✓ *plica longa ascendens* (with a long stem on the right and a shorter one on the left of the notehead)

✓ *plica brevis ascendens* (with the longer stem on the left)

✓ *plica longa descendens* (with the longer of the two descending stems on the right)

✓ *plica brevis descendens* (with the longer of the two descending stems on the left).

A fifth form used in **W**, a notehead with two descending stems , is one of the descending simple *plica* forms used in the Phase 1 sources; this symbol was also used, however, in mensural systems as an alternative form of *plica brevis descendens*. Only one of the compound *plica* forms used in the Phase 1 sources is retained in **W** (); double *plicae* are not used. **W** has a rich vocabulary of plicated ligatures, including a considerable variety of simple *binariae plicatae*: , , , and . Other plicated ligatures used in **W** include , , and the very rare forms  and .

While the use of symbols borrowed from mensural notation may have some connotations of relative speed and thus may have implications for performance, they are not used in a systematic way in the notation of Adam's chansons as they are in other genres in **W**.

Wa and Q

One notational symbol noticeably absent in **W** is the double *plica* (the symbol so liberally used in **Z**, but also particularly associated with the notation of Adam de la Halle's chansons, as, for instance, in **Wa** and **Q**).⁵⁸ Whereas **W** has a great variety of single *plicae*, only one compound *plica* and no double *plica*, **Wa** uses single *plicae* only rarely, but compound and double *plicae* abundantly. Comparing Pl. 4 with Pl. 13 and Pl. 5 with Pl. 14, it can be remarked that the use of a double *plica* in **Wa** and **Q** generally corresponds to the use of a single *plica* in **W**. First, the remarkably uniformity in the coincidence of *plicae* (even if they are variant *plica* forms) in different readings of individual chansons is quite unique in the trouvère repertoire: any enthusiasm for investing this fact with profound significance must be tempered by the probability that Adam's works

⁵⁸ With the exception of **W**, **O**, and **R**, double *plicae* are used in the notation of Adam's works in all the other sources, though in some more abundantly than in others.

may have been circulated in written form from a very early date. In any event, the *plica* clearly plays a prominent role in the notation of Adam's chansons. Although in some manuscripts mensural single *plica* forms are used, in none of the manuscripts does the *plica* appear to serve a mensural function. Given their prominence it is highly unlikely that the function of *plicae* was limited to a mere visual significance as a notational convention, particularly since, to a large extent, individual *plica* forms in one manuscript replace other *plica* forms in other manuscripts: only rarely does a *plica* replace another ligature bearing exactly the same pitches.

The double *plica* may possibly have evolved as a melodic variant of the compound *plica*, although, as mentioned above, it is conceivable that, in some branch of the tradition, or in some performance styles, its variant melodic shape may have been absorbed as an element of the melodic discourse: Adam himself may even have been instrumental in this regard. It is also notable that in his chansons the double *plica* tends to occur towards the end of the line (particularly on the penultimate syllable) or on the third syllable of a decasyllabic line, or, less frequently, on high points of a melodic line, which would suggest that it may also have had a role not only in the melodic discourse, but also in the melodic rhetoric. Despite these possible added roles, however, even in the chansons of this last-generation trouvère, the *plica* never fully dissociated itself from its traditional role.



a and A

The fourteenth-century source **a** clearly belongs to the later stage of the extant manuscript tradition: it is the only source in which a large body of the trouvère repertoire is organized into generic categories, and it can be seen to represent a summing up or reassessment of the repertoire. It was clearly compiled from several different sources, and several different scribes would appear to have been involved in the project. It is appropriate therefore that its notation should also represent a summing up both of the Phase 1 sources and of the earlier stage of the Phase 2 sources. Virtually all the symbols encountered in the notation of all of the sources discussed thus far are found in **a**. These include notational features such as the *cum opposita proprietate* ligatures found in **W**, **Wa**, and **Q** as well as all the ligatures and their orthographic variants found in Phase 1 sources, and not in all of the Phase 2 sources; it also includes several plicated ligatures and *coniuncturae*. A similar, though not as wide, range of ligatures is found in the source **A**, which is understandable given its much smaller size. Two notable differences in the notational vocabulary of **A** and **a** are the paucity of *coniuncturae* in **A**, by comparison with the various permutations and plicated varieties found in **a**,

and the obvious preference in **a** for compound and double *plicae* over the single *plica* forms, which are clearly more popular in **A**. When single *plicae* are used in **a**, the more sophisticated mensural forms are avoided, whereas **A** uses the more sophisticated forms, alongside the older varieties.

Despite the variety of notational symbols in **a** and the evident lateral influence of mensural notational practices, the notational symbols are not disposed in such a way as to suggest implied mensural patterns. The motets apart, only one single-note form is used. One notable exception—also a feature of the notation of **A**—is the occasional use of a single-note form with an elongated notehead, resembling the *maxima*, or *duplex maxima*, of mensural notation. Just as in earlier sources it was observed that notes with stems were occasionally used in certain contexts, notably at line ends, so too here, quite regularly in **a** and less so in **A**, the symbol often occurs as the last neume of a song. As an extension of this practice, elongated notes also occur within ligatures on the penultimate syllable of a song, or, more frequently, on the last syllable. Other examples of symbols that incorporate elongated notes include the following:



The freedom and almost improvisatory nature of these graphic forms (the single-note form can vary from  to ) must surely exemplify the flexibility of their durational value, having implication more for performance practice and performance rhetoric than for any fixed mensural interpretation.

I have left until last the most notable and significant difference between the notation of the melodies in **a** and **A**, since it highlights a characteristic which is also a feature of the remaining three manuscripts of the Phase 2 group to be discussed: the occurrence of larger ligatures is dramatically smaller in **A** than in **a**. **A**, like the manuscripts **V**, **R**, and **O**, contains unique melodies which bear little or no relation to the melodies found accompanying the same texts in other sources. As this type of melodic divergence will be discussed in detail in later chapters, the interpretation of these syllabic melodies will be deferred until then: suffice it to observe that even in these syllabic melodies in **A** no attempt is made to use two distinct single-note forms.



V and R

The notational vocabulary of **R** and **V** contains the standard ternary and quaternary ligatures and *coniuncturae* found in the Phase 1 sources, although **R** uses more obliques in its ligature forms than does **V**. The notation of **R** and **V** also features *cum opposita proprietate* ligatures (mostly ternary) found in the Phase 2 sources **W**, **Wa**, **Q**, **a**, and **A**. Plicated ligatures are rare in both sources, and while a variety of single and compound *plica* notes are found in **V**,

compound forms are virtually absent in **R**. There are very few varieties of larger ligatures in either source, and their occurrence is very infrequent. As with **A**, this, of course, relates to a remarkably high instance of syllabic (and mostly unique) melodies in **V** and **R**. A notable feature of the notation of the melodies in **V** and **R** is that single-note forms with and without stems are used. Their use, however, appears to be rather erratic (see, for example, Pl. 6). The predominantly syllabic settings among the unique melodies of **V**, **R**, and **O** certainly lend themselves more easily to a mensural interpretation, but patterns of stemmed and unstemmed notes which might objectively lead to a single clear mensural interpretation in each case are not apparent from the notation.

A further striking aspect of the notation of **R** is its use of vertical strokes in some songs, as, for instance, in that given in Ex. 2.3. These are frequently, though not always, to be found at points in the melody corresponding to line endings in the text. However, whereas in other manuscripts, even in **L**, such vertical strokes are generally drawn through one or two lines of the stave, in **R** they appear in a variety of forms. As well as vertical strokes drawn through one or two spaces of the stave, there are some that occupy three spaces; in other instances double lines are drawn through the entire four-line stave. Given their erratic form and the haphazard nature of their inclusion they would appear merely to represent a scribal eccentricity.

O

The last manuscript of the Phase 2 sources, **O**, shares the feature of a high instance of unique and predominantly syllabic melodies. Its notational vocabulary is largely similar to that of the other two sources, and it also shares the characteristic of the use of stemmed and unstemmed notes within individual melodies. Where **O** differs from **V** and **R** in this regard, however, is that, unlike those two manuscripts, there are instances when the alternation of stemmed and unstemmed notes yields a measured pattern (see Pl. 7). Although the notation in this example is not a sophisticated mensural *system*, the scribe succeeds in conveying a simple ternary pattern by the regular alternation of stemmed and unstemmed notes, together with the distinction between the *coniunctura* forms () and (), even if certain ambiguities with regard to the interpretation of particular passages remain.

Far more common in this manuscript, however, is the system of notation in the chanson 'Encor n'est raisons' (see column 1 of Pl. 7): stemmed notes are used, though the majority of the single notes are unstemmed, but there is absolutely no impression that the scribe is making any effort to convey a measured interpretation. In effect this notation is similar to **R** and **V**, but the underlying

'system' (if something which is characterized by its unsystematic nature can be so called) in this, and in all the other Phase 2 sources, is essentially the same as that of the Phase 1 sources. The explanation as to why individual songs should be notated in different ways is undoubtedly complex and will be addressed in detail in later chapters. One part of the explanation for the difference in the notation of 'Encor n'est raisons' and 'En may quant florissent' in Pl. 7 relates to the issue of genre: the measured song is a light *pastourelle* whereas the other is a high-style chanson. However, Tischler's edition of these two songs does not reflect the difference in the notation (see Ex. 2.4, where Tischler's melodic interpretation of the opening passages of the two songs is given over the text as it occurs in O).⁵⁹ In Ex.2.4(a), the extract from Tischler's 1997 edition of 'Encor n'est raisons' shows the opening passage of the chanson in transposition. It is not clear on what basis he arrives at his rhythmic interpretation; it should be noted too that he gives the same overall rhythmic duration to the single *plica* on the 'e' of 'joie' and the double *plica* over the first syllable of 'faillie'.

Given that the proponents of rhythmic interpretations for trouvère melodies rely on the source O as their principal evidence, it is all the more important to reiterate here that while a minority of the songs in that source are notated in measured patterns (as in 'En may quant florissent'), the vast majority of the repertoire it contains is notated as in 'Encor n'est raisons', where a mensural interpretation is far from being clear from the notation.

The late additions in M

The most pragmatic system of mensural notation in the trouvère sources is found among the late additions to the Phase 1 source M.⁶⁰ There are two categories of additions. First, there is what Beck calls 'autograph' additions, where entire compositions (text and music) were entered in various hands on blank folios or portions thereof. The second category comprises twenty-eight instances of melodies being added later on staves left blank by the original scribes.⁶¹ It is among what Beck calls the 'autograph' works (the proposition that they are actually autograph works is, of course, highly unlikely) that most of the instances of mensural notation are found and, interestingly, most of the works of this group are not in the traditional *chanson courtoise* genre, but rather what Dante, in *De vulgari eloquentia*, would have classified as 'inferior' (i.e. lower-style) genres,

⁵⁹ Only the melody of these examples is Tischler's. In his *TLM* comparative edition of 'Encor n'est raisons' (song no. 1094) he opts for a variant reading of the text found in other sources. But for ease of comparison with Pl. 7, the melody has been provided here with the text as it appears in O.

⁶⁰ For a discussion of these additions see *Le Manuscrit du Roi*, ed. Beck, ii, pp. [157–77].

⁶¹ There are some fifty other songs in M where only the text was entered by the original scribes: the staves remain blank.

genres which became increasingly popular at the end of the thirteenth century and in the early fourteenth century. These additions include instrumental works (two 'dansas' and eight 'estampies'),⁶² five Latin hymns (all of which are in mensural notation), nine Occitan songs of various genres (including *dansas* and *descorts*), and nineteen French songs (most of which are lower-style, refrain-form genres). One of the Occitan songs, the *dansa* 'Amors m'art', is reproduced in Pl. 8. The regular alternation between the two distinct single-note forms, the *longa* and the *brevis*, the use of *cum opposita proprietate* ligatures, of the Franconian *plica* forms, and, above all, the use of the *punctus divisionis* (which can take the form of a dot or a vertical stroke) to mark off every two perfections in lines 1 to 4 and thereafter every two or four perfections, result in a clearly intelligible mensural rendering (see Ex. 2.5, which includes the punctuation signs used in the manuscript). Furthermore, where lines 9 to 12 repeat the melody of lines 1 to 4, the notation is entirely consistent with the initial statement of that melody.⁶³

Not all of the Occitan and French works added later are in clear mensural notation; in some works the notation, while betraying traces of mensural notation in a similar manner to the predominant notation of O, does not, however, seem to imply a mensural interpretation. Interestingly, one such case is the only example (if incomplete) of a high-style *canço* among the Occitan additions, 'Ben volgra que.m vengues' (fo. 78^v).

Among the twenty melodies added on empty staves there are some that are in a clear mensural notation. The melody for the M version of the chanson 'Chançon ferai' in Ex. 4.1 below, for instance, is notated using the same clear mensural indications as those used to notate the Occitan *dansa* (given in Pl. 8 and transcribed in Ex. 2.5), including the use, if less frequent, of a *punctus divisionis* to mark off certain perfections where a possibility of ambiguity might arise. The M melody bears no relation to the melodies for this song found in other sources. In contrast to the 'autograph' additions in M, all twenty-eight of the songs to which later melodies were added belong to the traditional *chanson courtoise* genre. It is striking that of the twenty-eight only three others, apart from 'Chançon ferai', are notated in this mensural system. Another three have traces of a mensural notation (using an occasional alternation of stemmed and

⁶² For a discussion of the earliest sources of instrumental music (including the pieces in M) and for their origins in a notationless practice see W. Arlt, 'The "Reconstruction" of Instrumental Music: The Interpretation of the Earliest Practical Sources', in S. Boorman (ed.), *Studies in the Performance of Late Medieval Music* (Cambridge, 1983), 75–100, and 'Instrumentalmusik im Mittelalter: Fragen der Rekonstruktion einer schriftlosen Praxis', *BJHM* 7 (1983), 32–64.

⁶³ For a discussion of this *dansa* form see *The Razos de Trobar of Raimon Vidal*, ed. Marshall; C. Page, *Voices and Instruments of the Middle Ages: Instrumental Practice and Songs in France 1100–1300* (London, 1987), ch. 2; and see also M. O' Neill, 'Problems of Genre Definition: The Cantigas de Santa Maria in the Context of the Romance Lyric Tradition', in S. Parkinson (ed.), *Cobras e Son: Papers on the Text, Music, and Manuscripts of the 'Cantigas de Santa Maria'* (Oxford, 2000), 20–30.

unstemmed single-note forms) but a strictly mensural notation would not appear to be implied.

The remaining twenty-one late additions are without any hint of mensural interpretation, although their distinctive notation merits comment (see the **M** version of 'Se j'ai esté' in Pl. 9). Most of the twenty-one melodies notated in this way are unique melodies with little or no relation to the melodies found in other sources for these songs (compare the melody of Pl. 9 with that of the **K** version of the chanson in Pl. 1). Many of them too, as here, are markedly more syllabic settings than the melodies in the other sources for these texts, which, presumably, would make it easier for the scribe to indicate mensural patterns if such were intended. However, the scribe persists in notating these melodies in series of notes with very long stems. In **M**, the late scribe clearly adheres to a 'system' based on one single-note form only, just as in the Phase 1 sources, except that there the predominant single-note form was an unstemmed rather than a stemmed note. What significance, if any, can be attached to the scribal choice of a stemmed, as opposed to an unstemmed single-note form? It would be fanciful, given the palaeographic history of these melodies, to propose that here we are provided with examples of the elusive melodies made entirely from perfect *longae* ('ex omnibus longis et perfectis efficitur') mentioned by Grocheio in relation to the *cantus coronatus*,⁶⁴ and, thus, to suggest that each of these long-stemmed notes does indeed have a mensural significance. A more plausible interpretation of the notation in these twenty-one added melodies is that the stems may indeed have a connotation of length; not in a strict metrical sense, however, but in so far as they may represent the later scribes' attempt to recapture the spirit of the old-style chanson which the scribes' contemporaries, in theoretical writings, characterized as having a long, slow, punctuated melody. The use of notes with remarkably long stems may represent a long, slow style of performing the high-style chanson, but it is surely not to be interpreted literally as a succession of strictly measured perfect *longae*, which would make little sense.

On the basis of their notation the sources of trouvère song fall into two groups corresponding roughly to a loose chronology, representing a first and a second phase of the extant manuscript tradition. The Phase 1 group (comprising **KNPX**, **M**, and **T**) is in a square notation without mensural properties. The slightly later phase uses essentially the same notational 'system' with slight modifications. The first three sources discussed in the Phase 2 group (**Z** and the fragments **L** and **B**),

⁶⁴ From Johannes de Grocheio's treatise *De musica*, ed. in E. Rohloff, *Die Quellenhandschriften zum Musiktraktat des Johannes de Grocheio* (Leipzig, 1972), 130. See also Page's discussion of passages from this treatise in *Voices and Instruments*, 196–201. In the context of the present discussion it is interesting to note that Grocheio's treatise is quite late, dating from c.1300.

in particular, have only very slight notational modifications and are prefixed to this group rather than appended to the Phase 1 sources principally by virtue of their known later date. All of the remaining Phase 2 sources reflect to varying degrees some lateral influence of mensural notation codified for other repertoires, but, for the most part, only in the borrowing of symbols, rather than any whole-scale adoption of a mensural *system*. The influence is even stronger in the notation of some of the songs in **A**, **V**, **R**, and **O**, all of which also have a large proportion of unique melodic variants, which show a preference for syllabic rather than more neumatic settings; the possibility cannot be ruled out that in some instances measured interpretations may have been intended, even if the notation is not 'systematic'.

Two manuscripts, **W** and **O**, present interesting cases of the use of two different notational *systems* (involving for the most part the same notational symbols but used in one instance with flexibility, and in the other, ordered systematically). In **W**, however, only those genres that do not form a central part of the bulk of the trouvère repertoire are notated mensurally; the others are in a similar notation to the Phase 2 group. In **O**, there are certainly a number of songs where the obviously more systematic disposition of the symbols makes it clear that a strict measured interpretation was intended (and noticeably, this sometimes, though admittedly not always, involves lower-style genres), but the bulk of the chansons in **O** are not in a systematic mensural notation. It might be said, however, that, of all the Phase 2 sources, **O** shows the greatest inclination towards more regular rhythmic patternings, but, despite the proven capabilities of the scribe, a consistent application of such patterns is not apparent in the larger part of the repertoire it preserves. The most systematic 'mensural' notation in trouvère sources, is found in some, though not all, of the late additions to **M**, which must, however, be considered apart. Even here, however, it is striking that lighter style genres are mostly involved, and that when chansons occur, the notation seems to avoid mensural indications.

In the rather brief survey of trouvère sources in this chapter various interrelationships between sources on the basis of manuscript organization, presentation, and musical notation have been indicated. The emphasis was, necessarily, on the latter because such a study has not been done to date. Several questions remain and others arise as a consequence of observations in this overview with regard to other relationships and divergences between individual sources. A more detailed understanding of the manuscript tradition and of the repertoire is impossible without considering questions of style and stylistic change, but equally it is essential to go beyond the written evidence and address the crucial question of the role of orality in aspects of the trouvère repertoire and tradition.

Ex. 2.1. Three modern editions of 'Se j'ai esté' (R/S 1575): (a) P. Aubry's edition (1909–10), based on K; (b) W. Bittinger's edition (*ZRPb* 69 (1953), 181), based on *KNPXL*M; (c) H. van der Werf's comparative edition (*MMMA* 12/1, 159–63)

(a)

[Se] j'ai es - - té lonc tens hors du pa - - is

Ou je les - sai la riens que plus a - moi - - e

(b)

1. Se j'ai es - - té lonc tans hors del pa - - is

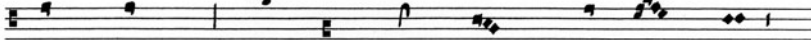

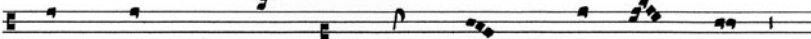

2. Ou je les - - sai la riens que plus a - - - moi - - - e

(c)

1. Se j'ai es - té lonc tanz hors des pa - - is

2. Ou i'av lais - - sié la riens ke plus a - - - moi - - - e

Ex. 2.2. Comparison of notation of line 5 of 'Chançon ferai' (R/S 1565) in KNPX

	5.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
K, p. 130									
	li - mons et vain - cuz et fail - liz.								
N, fo. 76 ^v									
	li - mons et vain - cuz et fail - liz.								
P, fo. 55 ^v									
	li - mons est vain - cus et fail - lit.								
X, fo. 90 ^v									
	li - mōs et vain - cuz et fail - lis.								

Ex. 2.3. 'Quant li tans pert sa chalour' (R/S 1968) as notated in R, fo. 121^{r-v}


Quant li tans pert sa chalour · que la flour blanche est palie · cil oisel pour la froidour ·

naulz ne chante ne ne crie · jusque ce vient a pascour · lors chantent et nuit et jour ·

he: las chatis ensi ne mest il mie · touz jours ai duel · onc noi joie en ma vie ·

Ex. 2.4. H. Tischler's rhythmic interpretation of the opening of two songs from O, fo. 53: (a) 'Encor n'est raisons' (R/S 1911); (b) 'En may quant' (R/S 469)

(a)

1. En - cor n'est rai - sons 2. Que m'a joi - e soit tou - te fail - li - e

(b)

1. En may quant flo - ris - sent prey 2. et rose est no - ve - - le,

Ex. 2.5. Transcription of the Occitan *dansa* 'Amors m'art con fuoc am flama' from M, fo. 187^v, with original music punctuation signs

1. A - mours m'art con fuoc am fla-ma 2. e nueg e jorn plus m'a pren,
9. C'a totz jorns plus m'ens-si a ma 10. con si'us ve si - a pre - sen,

3. per qu'ieu sai ben ve - ra - - men 4. que de llueg co - nois qui a-ma.
11. e ja nom tro - bi dor - - men, 12. c'am vos non sia jos la ra-ma

5. O lueng vas sui, dous-sa_a - - mi - a 6. so cre - - - son nos - tre guer - rier,

7. mas non sa bon jes con - - - fier 8. le cai - - - relle c'a - mars men - - vi - a.



The Melodic Art of the Trouvères: Orality and the Question of Melodic Variants

One of the most controversial and elusive aspects of trouvère scholarship remains the question of the role of orality, a rather vague term but one which embraces aspects of the generative process, of performance, and of transmission. In musicological scholarship the concept of orality has principally been invoked in relation to the transmission of the early repertoire, where it is seen to account for the lack of written sources in the considerable gap between the 'composition' of the early repertoire and the date of the earliest surviving written source, in many cases a period of some fifty or more years.¹ The danger of relying on negative evidence, that is the lack of written sources, as proof of oral transmission in the first half of the thirteenth century is obvious, particularly since a study of the surviving written sources attests the existence of earlier, but now lost, written exemplars.² For the period in question, it is most probable that the early repertoire was transmitted neither exclusively orally, nor exclusively in writing, but by some combination of the two methods.

Like the musicologists, literary historians too have addressed orality-literacy issues in the study of medieval texts, but, it must be said, in a more comprehensive manner, embracing not only the question of orality in transmission, but also in the performance context, and in the generative process. The work of Ong and Zumthor in the 1980s (coming as it does at the culmination of a protracted debate about oral tradition following the pioneering work of Parry and Lord),³

¹ Van der Werf includes an essay on 'Written and Oral Traditions' in *The Chansons*, 26–34.

² The possibility that there was some recourse to writing even in the very early troubadour repertoire is suggested in the poetic text of a *canço* by Jaufré Rudel (who was active in the first half of the 12th c.) when he particularly makes the point that he 'transmits his *vers* singing, and without any writing on parchment' in 'Can lo rieu de la fontayna' (P/C 262.5). The text of this *canço* is edited by R. T. Pickens in *The Songs of Jaufré Rudel* (Toronto, 1978); music edition by H. van der Werf in *The Poetry and Music of Cercamon and Jaufré Rudel*, ed. G. Wolf and R. Rosenstein (New York, 1983).

³ The seminal, if controversial, work by Parry was his proposition that Homer's *Iliad* and *Odyssey* were oral poetry (see M. Parry (ed.), *The Making of Homeric Verse* (Oxford, 1971)); A. B. Lord's most influential

has reasserted the importance of recognizing the primacy of the spoken word in the Middle Ages.⁴ This has implications for the study of all medieval texts, but especially for studies of vernacular texts. Since the fifties, however, there has been considerable argument as to what constitutes proof of orality.⁵ The task is undoubtedly complex given that all the evidence must, necessarily, be gleaned from written sources, since it is axiomatic that no direct oral evidence from the Middle Ages exists.

A wide variety of medieval repertoires have been discussed in relation to the question of oral tradition (including *inter alia* the Spanish *romancero*, the *chanson de geste*, medieval Danish ballads, and Irish narrative verse) and in recent years scholars of the troubadour repertoire have begun to address the issue seriously;⁶ however, the trouvère *grant chant* repertoire has never been the

work, which fuelled the debates on oral tradition, was *The Singer of Tales* (Harvard Studies in Comparative Literature, 24; Cambridge, Mass., 1960), a reworking of his Harvard doctoral dissertation of 1949.

⁴ See R. Finnegan, *Literacy and Orality: Studies in the Technology of Communication* (Oxford, 1988). For notable contributions by Ong and Zumthor to the orality-literacy debate see W. J. Ong, *Orality and Literacy: The Technologizing of the Word* (London, 1982), and, with more particular emphasis on the Middle Ages, 'Orality, Literacy and Medieval Textualization', *New Literary History*, 15 (1984), 1-12; P. Zumthor, *Parler du moyen âge* (Paris, 1980), 'Considerations sur les valeurs de la voix', *CCM* 24-5 (1981-2), 233-8, *Introduction à la poésie orale* (Paris, 1983), *La Poésie et la voix dans la civilisation médiévale* (Paris, 1984), and *La Lettre et la voix: De la littérature médiévale* (Paris, 1987).

⁵ The two qualities most frequently cited are 'formulaic' and 'repetitive', although there is considerable dispute as to the precise definition of 'formulaic', and to the identification of endemic types of repetition in oral poetry as distinct from written poetry. There now exists a vast literature on the so-called 'oral-formulaic theory'. For a history of the evolution of this idea and of its origin in late 19th-c. German scholarship see J. M. Foley, 'Introduction: The Oral Theory in Context', in id. (ed.), *Oral Traditional Literature: A Festschrift for Albert Bates Lord* (Columbus, Ohio, 1980), 27-122. See also id., *Oral-Formulaic Theory and Research: An Introduction and Annotated Bibliography* (New York, 1985). A useful review of the contribution of Parry and others to the oral-formulaic theory is found in A. B. Lord, 'Perspectives on Recent Work on the Oral Traditional Formula', *Oral Tradition*, 1 (1986), 467-503; in this article Lord also stresses the importance of establishing a clearer differentiation between what constitutes a formula and what constitutes repetition, and he also concedes that the use of formulae in oral 'literature' is not in itself adequate proof of orality. Other reservations about the oral-formulaic theory are expressed in M. Curschmann, 'The Concept of the Oral Formula as an Impediment to our Understanding of Medieval Oral Poetry', *Medievalia et Humanistica*, NS 8 (1977), 63-76 and P. Zumthor, 'Le Discours de la poésie orale', *Poétique*, 52 (1982), 387-401. For Zumthor's own ideas on the characteristics of oral poetry see *La Poésie et la voix*, esp. 15-36 and 78-90. Ong also proposes some additional signs of orality in his essay on 'Some Psychodynamics of Orality' in *Orality and Literacy*, 31-75.

⁶ See B. M. de Rhett, 'Structure and Functions of Oral Tradition', *Oral Tradition*, 2 (1987), 645-66; A. de Mandach, *Naissance et développement de la chanson de geste en Europe* (Geneva, 1975); J. J. Duggan, 'La Théorie de la composition des chansons de geste: Les faits et les interprétations', *Olifant* 8 (1981), 238-55 and id., 'Le Mode de composition des chansons de geste: Analyse statistique, jugement esthétique, modèle de transmission', *Olifant* 8 (1981), 286-316, and for a speculative study on melodic processes in the *chansons de geste* see G. Le Vot, 'A propos des jongleurs de geste: Conjectures sur quelques procédés musicaux utilisés dans les compositions épiques médiévales', *RdM* 72 (1986), 171-200. See also I. Pio, 'On Reading Orally-Performed Ballads: The Medieval Ballads of Denmark', in *Oral Tradition - Literary Tradition: A Symposium* (Odense, 1977), 69-82, and J. F. Nagy, 'Orality in Medieval Irish Narrative: An Overview', *Oral Tradition*, 1 (1986), 272-301. The troubadour scholar S. Gaunt, in particular, has addressed the issue of orality: see his article 'Orality and Writing: The Text of the Troubadour Poem', in S. Gaunt and S. Kay (eds), *The Troubadours: An Introduction*

subject of a detailed separate study in this regard. This is no doubt in large part owing to greater difficulties in delineating the role of orality, especially in repertoires from the thirteenth century, when oral and written processes increasingly overlapped.⁷ As the thirteenth century progressed the line of delineation almost certainly became even less clear cut, as is witnessed by the closeness of late proponents of the courtly song tradition, such as Adam de la Halle and Guiraut Riquier, to the written word. Nevertheless, the continuing role of orality can be traced throughout the entire later repertoire of the *grand chant courtois*. The purpose of the present chapter, however, is to assess the fundamental role of orality in the early repertoire: aspects of the poetic texts, and of the melodies (focusing particularly on the question of multiple variants) are considered. In the following examination of the evidence of orality in the early trouvère chanson, reference will also be made to the parent troubadour *canso* tradition, with which, chronologically and stylistically, it is so closely linked.

Few would doubt that the trouvère chansons were meant to be performed. There is, however, surprisingly little documentary evidence about their performance, as was revealed by Page in a monograph devoted to the subject.⁸ Such contemporary evidence as exists, mainly derived from narrative or other literary works, is rarely detailed, nor always realistic.⁹ However, what now seems clear is that in the early repertoire at least, the high-style chansons were performed for the most part in solo vocal renditions. When instruments are mentioned in connection with the performance of troubadour or early trouvère monody, they seem to be associated, not with the high-style *canso* or chanson, but with particular genres such as the lighter-style *dansa* (and there are also some tenuous references to instruments in connection with the performance of the *descort*),¹⁰ and in the Old French repertoire with dance songs, some narrative songs, and

(Cambridge, 1999), 228–45; and his analysis of the effect of ‘oral’ style in the *Chanson de Roland* in his book *Retelling the Tale: An Introduction to Medieval French Literature* (London, 2001).

⁷ For a discussion of evidence of a continued intervention of oral processes in Roman chant books see L. Treitler, ‘Homer and Gregory: The Transmission of Epic Poetry and Plainchant’, *MQ* 60 (1974), 333–72. For a history of the book in the Middle Ages see C. Bazzolo and E. Ornato, *Pour une histoire du livre manuscrit au moyen âge* (Paris, 1980).

⁸ See Page, *Voices and Instruments*.

⁹ *Ibid.*, Appendix 2 (pp. 151–9) and Appendix 3 (pp. 160–209).

¹⁰ For a discussion of the association of instruments with relatively minor genres (such as the *dansa*, *bals*, *estampida*, and *garips*) in theoretical works from the late 13th c. and the first half of the 14th c., see Page, *Voices and Instruments*, 40–9. Page tentatively suggests that ‘there seems good reason to believe that *pastourelles* may often have been accompanied’ (*ibid.* 135 and see also p. 33). That this is very likely, particularly in the 13th-c. Old French *pastourelle*, is substantially supported by references to instruments and to instrumental participation in *pastourelle* texts: such references are particularly abundant in the *pastourelle* texts of Jehan Erart, who was active in the mid-13th c. The texts of Erart’s *pastourelles* are edited by T. Newcombe in *Les Poésies du trouvère Jehan Erart* (TLF; Paris, 1972) and the melodies are also edited by Newcombe in *The Songs of Jehan Erart* (CMM 67; AIM, 1975).

with refrain forms.¹¹ The question of instrumental participation in the performance of the troubadour and trouvère repertoires is, of course, but one aspect of the performance context. The performance as an event involves the performer, the audience, the manner of delivery by the former, and the reception by the latter.

Evidence of Orality in the Poetic Texts

One of the richest sources of evidence for the role of orality in the early trouvère repertoire is provided by the poetic texts of the chansons. Despite the efforts of more recent literary scholars, the vast literature produced by earlier scholars documenting the thematic content, the topoi, and the rhetoric of trouvère lyric, which, for the most part, involved lengthy analyses of the poetic texts as written artefacts (and without any consideration of the melodies) has implanted a rather 'concretized' or stereotyped view of the repertoire which is proving difficult to discard. What I propose to do in the first part of this chapter is to look afresh at some of the old familiar conventions (and to consider the *raison d'être* behind them), as well as at certain other aspects of the poetic texts, to see what they reveal about the nature and ethos of the art form and, in particular, to see how the live performance event is evoked therein.

One of the most striking aspects of trouvère discourse is its self-consciousness and its self-referential nature. A central convention of the genre is the omnipresence of the 'authorial voice', speaking in the first person singular.¹² Whether he has sung of his love for a particular lady before, whether he has sung of his love for another lady in similar terms, or whether the lady exists only in his imagination is irrelevant: the convention is such that each telling, or retelling, is cast in the form of the response of an individual 'authorial voice' to particular circumstances, thus imbuing the chanson with the sense of a live or relived event.¹³

¹¹ In Jean Renart's 13th-c. northern French romance *Guillaume de Dole* (c.1220) there are three references to instrumental participation in association with a *rondet*, a *chanson de toile*, and a *dance*. These are discussed in Page, *Voices and Instruments*, 29–39.

¹² For an analysis of the meaning and use of the first person singular see E. M. Ghil, 'The Canzo: Structural Study of a Poetic Genre' (Ph.D. diss., Columbia University, 1978), 23–71.

¹³ This is true even in songs that acknowledge (usually in the *envoi*) that they were commissioned by a patron. Such acknowledgements are found in songs from the troubadour repertoire right through to the late trouvère repertoire (e.g. Adam de la Halle, R/S 1458). In another chanson by Adam, R/S 2038, mention of a commission is integrated into the text of the chanson where Adam states in the first verse that his only motive for making the song is that he was asked to by a noble lady, and in the second strophe he explains that his suffering is caused by his love for another lady: 'I. ai faite canchon; / si n'en ai autre occoison / fors c'une dame m'en prie, / ke est de tel seignourie / c'on doit a li obeir / dusc'au morir. II. Et ne puet quant ma dolours / vient d'autrui' (R/S 2038, lines 5–12) [I have made a song / having no other motive / Except that a lady asks me to / Who is of such noble birth / That one must obey her / Even to the point of death.// And yet, my suffering / Comes from another].

The presence of the audience in the poetic texts, and the direct manner in which it is addressed by the author, further contribute to the sense of the *chanson* representing a live event. First, on a general level, the confidential and confessional tone of most of the poems requires a listener: in many regards the *raison d'être* of these songs is to convince the listener, to appeal to his sympathy and emotions, to win him over to the performer's side, especially when the author feels unfairly treated by his lady or by the *losengiers* (the slanderers). There are a number of conventional ways in which the audience is invoked. First, the audience is frequently addressed directly at the beginning of a *chanson*:

Compaignon, je sai tel cose
Ki chanter me fait sovent (Gace Brulé, R/S 1939)
Friends, I know something
which makes me sing often

Secondly, the audience is in some instances drawn into the event by the exhortation to listen: in the following extract the *chanson* as a live event is evoked in the juxtaposition of a direct address with the verb 'oëz':

Oëz por quoi plaing et sopir,
Seignor, n'en fais pas a blasmer. (Gace Brulé, R/S 1465)
Hear why I lament and sigh,
lords, I do not deserve to be blamed.

The *chanson* as a live event is also echoed in the poetic texts in references that locate the performance event temporally, in a way that is typical in oral traditions. Initial stanzas often follow the common convention of opening with an announcement that the song is about to begin:¹⁴

Ab joi mou lo vers e.l comens (Ventadorn, P/C 70.1)
With great joy this *vers* begins
... Mais lo mieu chant comens aisi:
Com pus l'aüziretz mais valra (Jaufré Rudel, P/C 262.3)
But my song begins thus
the more you hear of it, the more you will appreciate it¹⁵

¹⁴ The analogy to story-telling is self-evident.

¹⁵ Such references frequently involve the use of the future indicative or future perfect: 'Chanter m'estuet iréement. / Hé las! comment porrai chanter, / Quant je ne puis vöer souvent / Ma douce amie au biau vis cler?' (Gace Brulé, R/S 687) [I must sing bitterly / Alas! how will I be able to sing, / if I cannot see / my sweet Belovèd with her beautiful bright face?].

This Rudel extract is particularly effective in evoking the temporal event of the *canço*: not only does he verbally mark the commencement of the event in the first line of the above extract ('but my song begins thus'), but he also refers to the later stage in the temporal event in the second line above: 'the more you hear of it, the more you will appreciate it'. A work conceived as an autonomous written artefact is less reliant on conventions of this sort and although such conventions are sometimes echoed in later literary traditions, their rationale lies in oral performance.

By introducing the subject matter of the song from the outset, the author is at once inviting the listeners' participation in the event that is about to unfold; by revealing from the start which of the states of love he wishes to sing about, he immediately situates this *chanson* against a background of the many *chansons* on the same theme the audience will have heard. In this regard the frequent criticism levelled at the courtly love lyric, that it revolves endlessly around a limited core of themes, is, arguably, based on a fundamental ontological misunderstanding of the *chanson*. It is important to consider that each *chanson*, 'unoriginal' or conventional as its theme and expression may appear to be on paper, will, in the context of a live performance, be charged with the rhetoric of the performer swaying his audience. Furthermore, as in all oral traditions, the familiarity of the theme, and indeed of the formulaic language used to express it, heightens rather than detracts from the listeners' involvement and appreciation of the performance. The art resides to a large degree in the act of performance. To ignore the full implications of the *chanson* as a live event, and to base judgements on the written text alone is, in effect, to comment only on a shell of the whole.

Occasional references in the texts testify eloquently to the author's awareness of the performance event. In the following opening of a *canço* by Ventadorn, the author, using the introductory conventions discussed above, speculates on the joy of singing, the importance of a good beginning, of a good ending, and how, if he succeeds in these aims, he will be praised when it is over:

Ab joi mou lo vers e.l comens
 Et ab joi reman e fenis;
 Et ab que bona sia la fis,
 Bos crey qu'er lo comensamens;
 Per la bona comensensa
 Mi don joi et alegransa;

¹⁵ (*cont.*) See also R/S 1198 by Brulé. This use of the future indicative can be traced right back through the troubadour repertoire, even to the earliest known troubadour, Guilhem d'Aquitaine: 'Companhon, farai un vers desconvenent: / Et auri mais de foudats no'i a de sen' [Companions, the poem I'm about to make will be indecorous / – more folly than sense will be found in it]. Text and trans. from *Las cançons dels trobadors*, ed. I. Fernández de la Cuesta and R. Lafont (Tolosa, 1979), 47.

Per so deu hom la bona fin grazir
Car totz bos faitz aug lauzar al fenir. (Ventadorn, P/C 70.1)
With great joy this *vers* begins
and with joy continues and ends;
and if the ending is good,
the beginning will have been thought to be good;
for the good beginning
I rejoice and am pleased;
and so should one be grateful for a good ending
because all good things (actions) will be praised at the end.

The following opening to a *canso* by the troubadour Ramon de Miraval clearly assumes the presence of an audience, in this case an inattentive or unappreciative one:

Selh que no vol auzir chansos
De nostra companhia.s gar
Qu'ieu chan per mon cors alegrar
E per solatz dels companhos (Miraval, P/C 406.20)
Let him who does not want to hear songs
move away from our company,
for I sing to make my body joyful
and for the enjoyment of my companions

Here the poet's awareness of the audience is also emphatically marked by the sense in which the physical context of the performance is evoked, that is, the physical distance he wishes to create between those who want to 'hear' the singing and those who do not.

The mention of specific characters in a considerable number of chansons provides some of the most interesting evidence on the performance context of the chanson. Named individuals are addressed primarily in the short *envois* appended to the end of many chansons. These *envois*, or *tornadas* as they are called in the troubadour repertoire, are frequently of a dedicatory nature, either in gratitude for the patronage of a particular nobleman, or in acknowledgement of, or in response to, a fellow trouvère or troubadour. For instance, in the works of Gace Brulé such *envois* are commonplace. In the chanson R/S 643 there are two *envois*; the first is addressed to a nobleman, the Count of Blois (who is also mentioned in four other chansons by Brulé),¹⁶ and in the second 'Du Barrois'

¹⁶ This would appear to be the Louis who became Count of Blois in 1191. See *Gace Brulé, trouvère champenois: Édition des chansons et étude historique*, ed. H. P. Dyggve (Mémoires de la Société Néophilologique de Helsinki, 16; Helsinki, 1951), 41–5.

may refer to either Thibaut I, Count of Bar, or to Guillaume des Barres, 'seigneur d'Oissey, Saint-Pathus et la Ferté-Allais'.¹⁷

Envoi 1

Cuens de Blois, sanz einsi amer
Ne puet nus en grant pris monter.
Count of Blois, without loving in this way
no man can rise to great worth.

Envoi 2

Du Barrois vous doit ramembrer,
Qu'amours fet les bons amender. (Gace Brulé, R/S 643)
You should remember, Le Barrois,
that love makes good men grow better.

Despite the fact that historical persons are referred to, such *envois* do not necessarily inform us of the specific performance context of the chanson. On the other hand, the existence of two *envois* for this chanson (in other cases three or even four *envois* survive for a single chanson) raises an interesting question about the function of the *envoi*. The two *envois* of R/S 643 are unrelated, and while each one is compatible with the contextual setting of an individual performance, their juxtaposition in a single performance is tautologous, as is the juxtaposition of the following three *envois* for another Brulé song, R/S 1536:

Envoi I

Chançons, va t'en tost et isnelement
Droit a Noblet, mon seignor cui j'aim tant,
Si te fera par lo pais espandre.

Envoi II

Et mon seignor de Molins, qu'il te chant,
Qui par amors est plus pales que cendre.

Envoi III

Et se lor di que tant aim Helisent
Que toz sui siens, por ardoit ou por pendre.
I: Song, be off soon and quickly
straight to Noblet, my lord whom I love so,
and he will make you known throughout the land.
II: And may my lord of Molins sing you,
who because of love is more pale than ashes.

¹⁷ See Gace Brulé, *The Lyrics and Melodies*, ed. Rosenberg, Danon, and van der Werf, 287–8.

III: And do tell them that I so love Helisent
that I am totally hers, even if I burn or hang for it.¹⁸

It is suggestive in this regard that in those instances where the author is more closely involved with the written transmission, as in the case of Adam de la Halle, or, for that matter, in the more stereotyped poetic forms of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, there is but a single *envoi* for each chanson. The multiple *envois* found in the manuscript sources for the early repertoire may be explained therefore as deriving from different performances of individual chansons, and as relating to the apparent need of the author/performer to situate the performance by reference to contemporary circumstances—his own, or those of named individuals. The fact that *envois* are a particularly unstable element in the written transmission (in R/S 1536, for instance, none of the other eight sources in which this chanson is preserved transmits even one of the three *envois* found in I) would also suggest that the performer sometimes improvised or adapted an *envoi* appropriate to the occasion and circumstances of the performance. This notion is perhaps most strikingly borne out by the fact that not only the content, but also the language and expression of the *envoi* is often only loosely related to the main body of the song.¹⁹

The basic formal structure of the poetic texts can therefore be seen to frame the chanson as a temporal event: the introductory formulae serve the dual purpose of marking the point in time at which the event commences ('now I begin my song'), and of inviting the attention of the audience, while the *envoi* marks the end of the event,²⁰ and sometimes situates it historically.²¹ A common formula found at the beginning of the *envoi* is 'chanson va t'en', as in the first *envoi* of R/S 1536 given above: having come to the end of his song the trouvère, figuratively speaking, 'sends it forth'. In some chansons, this formula is used at the beginning of the final stanza, where it equally serves a rhetorical and

¹⁸ Dyggve, in *Gace Brulé, trouvère champenois*, 45–55, identifies 'Noblet' as Guillaume de Garlande V, lord of Livry, and the 'seignor de Molins' as Gace's fellow trouvère Pierre II, lord of Molins. The lady mentioned in the third *envoi* is unknown. It is surely unlikely that in a single performance of this chanson Gace would sing three unrelated *envois*, addressing three different persons. The use of the same rhyme scheme in all three would also suggest that they were not meant to be performed together. Furthermore, it is interesting that the only manuscript to transmit all three *envois* is the 14th-c. source Oxford, Bodleian, Douce 308 (I), which does not preserve melodies and is, in effect, a poetic anthology in which the contents are organized by genre: it is likely therefore that the scribe(s) of I compiled these three *envois* from different sources.

¹⁹ Switten has also made this observation about the transmitted *tornadas* of Miraval's *cansos* in her exemplary study, *The Cansos of Raimon de Miraval: A Study of Poems and Melodies* (Cambridge, Mass., 1985).

²⁰ The *envoi* of R/S 838, for instance, begins: 'Ma chançon vueill definer [I wish to end my song]'.

²¹ For a discussion of the designation and rhetoric of *envois*, and of references therein to performance at a *puy*, see R. Dragonetti, *La Technique poétique des trouvères dans la chanson courtoise: Contribution à l'étude de la rhétorique médiévale* (Rijksuniversiteit te Gent, Werken uitgegeven door de Faculteit van de Letteren en Wijsbegeerte, 127; Bruges, 1960), 304–78.

structural function in the performance event, signalling that the song is coming to a close, and thereby dispensing with the need for an *envoi*.²² The *exordium* and *envoi* are established rhetorical devices whose *raison d'être* is clearly inseparable from the origins of the repertoire in an oral tradition.

Although only a few aspects of the orality of the texts have been highlighted here, it is clear that many of the old familiar conventions, structures, and techniques of the poetic texts of the trouvères take on a very different aspect when appraised in the context of the performance art in which their origins lie. The very fact that the *chanson courtoise* has a stable thematic core, as well as a stable basic structure (only rarely departing from the norm of a bipartite stanza as the basic structural unit), underlines the orality of the genre.²³ Features of the structure of language in medieval poetry that reflect its orality are discussed at length by Zumthor, and although his discussion is general, embracing various medieval traditions, many of the observations he makes apply equally to the trouvère repertoire. These include his observation regarding the tendency of oral poetry: to disengage itself somewhat from semantic aspects of the text and, simultaneously, to complicate to extremes the structures of discourse (an eloquent testament of which can be seen, for instance, in the *trobar clus* of the troubadours). He further points to the different role and use of language in written and oral poetry, whereby the emphasis in the latter is less on grammatical procedures than on a dramatization of discourse.²⁴

While this tendency towards over-conciseness of expression and the juxtaposition of phrases without always clarifying the syntactic and grammatical relationship between them also has parallels in trouvère discourse, the aspect of language which, perhaps, most effectively testifies to the orality of trouvère lyric is its 'vocality'. Its most obvious manifestation is the concentration on phonic devices such as alliteration, assonance, and consonance,²⁵ poetic devices

²² The *chanson* by Moniot d'Arras, R/S 490, for instance, has an *envoi* which begins with the 'chanson va t'en' motif ('Al Dreuois isnellement/Va, cançons, et si li prie...') [Go quickly, song, to Dreuois and ask him...]: it is, however, more usual in Moniot's *chansons* that no *envoi* is transmitted and the 'chanson va t'en' motif occurs in the opening of the final stanza, e.g. the final stanza of R/S 1764 ('Chançons, va t'en sans perece, / Au Boulenois di') or of R/S 739 ('Cançons, va t'en maintenant / A Jehan de Braine et di...').

²³ In a discussion where he outlines some of the limitations of the 'oral-formulaic' theory as proof of oral poetry, P. Zumthor states that in his own studies on oral poetry two common characteristics can be observed: '1. The 'model' of oral texts is more concrete than that of written texts: the prefabricated discursive fragments on which it relies are more numerous, better organized, and semantically more stable. For instance: the 'vers clichés' of the *chanson de geste* or certain 'lyric' motifs such as the 'lieu erotique'. 2. In the course of transmission, one observes intrusions, reprises, and repetitions (which are probably allusive) within individual texts, and from one text to another (synchronically and diachronically): discursive exchanges that give the impression of a circulation of migratory textual elements, constantly recombining with others in temporary formations.'

²⁴ Ibid. 84–7.

²⁵ See e.g. A. M. Raugé's discussion of the use of alliteration, assonance, consonance, and other phonic effects in Gautier de Dargies's works in the introductory essay to her excellent critical edition of his poetic texts:

which have of course been integrated into written poetry, but which can be seen ultimately to derive from the oral medium of poetry. The use of highly sophisticated poetic devices in the art of trouvères such as Dargies strongly suggests that the generative process may have involved a degree of 'working out', and was not a process of purely spontaneous improvisation. This, however, does not deny the fundamental orality of the art but rather points to a distinction between 'closed' oral traditions (practised by professionals trained in the art) and 'open' oral traditions (practised by a more general public). Even if at the generative stage the 'working out' of the more 'closed' and highly sophisticated art of some of the early generations of trouvères was occasionally or partially done on parchment (and there is remarkably little evidence to support such a claim), the import of this would be minimal since the creative impulse would still be dictated by the fact that it was conceived as an oral art form, and thus 'composed' expressly with oral, aural, and performance effects in mind.

The nature of many of the textual variants in surviving manuscripts preserving troubadour and trouvère lyric also constantly emphasizes that the primary function of writing was to record the *spoken* word, and therefore underlines the origin of these repertoires in a notationless practice. Self-evidently oral characteristics such as phonetic and dialectal variants are reflected in the morphology and orthography of the written texts. In particular, the remarkable degree of morphological variation between sources makes it very difficult to believe that these lyrics were predominantly composed and transmitted in writing, or that a written text was accorded the definitiveness and sanctity it has assumed in our literate society. Other aspects of textual variants in the manuscript sources reflect the role of memory in the earlier transmission of these songs. For instance, with the exception of the first strophe, there is considerable variation in the order in which the strophes of chansons are presented in different sources. Since the chanson is not a narrative genre, it is perfectly understandable within an oral tradition, where the role of memory is of prime importance, that the order of strophes might be varied, and that, given the distinctive character and the rhetoric of the *exordium*, the first stanza should remain stable. Certain common variations in details of syntax and vocabulary within lines that nonetheless retain the essential thematic idea and end rhyme (for instance, 'Qu'anuis fait envie durer' instead of 'Qu'enious font ennui panser' in R/S 643) are also quintessentially oral processes.²⁶

Gautier de Dargies: Poesie (Publicazioni della Facoltà di Lettere e Filosofia dell'Università di Milano, 90; Florence, 1981), 90–7.

²⁶ For a discussion of the recreative process of memory in orally transmitted repertoires see Treidler, 'Homer and Gregory', 333–72, esp. 344–7.

It is clear that evidence of orality in trouvère lyric can be seen in the semantic, rhetorical, syntactic, and phonic aspects of the poetic texts. Yet the delivery of these texts is reliant not on the spoken but the sung word. In his discussion on orality in medieval poetic traditions Paul Zumthor interprets the very fact of the inclusion of a melody in the sources as proof positive of its orality:

Possédons-nous un texte, il existe une seule preuve directe et en général sûre que celui-ci (quel qu'ait été son mode de composition) fut diffusé vocalement, en vertu d'une intention d'auteur ou d'une convention sociale: c'est la présence d'une notation musicale doublant les phrases sur le manuscrit.²⁷

While it is disputable whether the presence of a melody in the sources in itself constitutes proof of orality, it is nonetheless striking that in a wide variety of oral traditions from different cultures, oral 'poems' are expressed in song.²⁸ Certainly in the trouvère repertoire, a consideration of the melodies is central to the question of orality.

Multiple Versions in Trouvère Melodies

The vexed question of so-called 'multiple versions', whereby individual songs survive with different melodic variants (in some instances very substantially divergent), has often been regarded as an impediment to an understanding of the melodic art of the trouvères. In the whole of the transmitted works of one of the early trouvères, Gautier de Dargies, for instance, apart from **KNPX**, no two manuscripts present exactly the same melody for any song, even when two manuscripts belong to the same family in the written tradition. This fact speaks volubly for the argument that these songs were not perceived as fixed entities, but rather that their very essence involved some degree of variation or 'reinvention' in performance, which strongly suggests an origin in an oral tradition.²⁹

²⁷ 'In a transmitted text, there exists a single direct, and generally sure, proof that this (whatever its mode of composition may have been) was transmitted vocally, whether because of the express intention of the author or of a social convention; that is, the presence of musical notation accompanying the text in the manuscript.' Zumthor, *La Poésie et la voix*, 13–14.

²⁸ Ruth Finnegan remarks in the introduction to her edition of oral poetry from different cultures that 'in the actual performance many of these poems were sung, and a full scholarly presentation would have to include a transcription of the music' (not, unfortunately, provided in Finnegan's edition). See *The Penguin Book of Oral Poetry*, ed. R. Finnegan (London, 1978), 8.

²⁹ In studies of chant sources, Helmut Huckle and Leo Treitler have identified evidence of oral processes in the transmitted written tradition of certain chant repertoires. See Huckle, 'Towards a New Historical View of Gregorian Chant', *JAMS* 33 (1980), 437–67; Treitler, 'Homer and Gregory'; and Treitler, 'Oral, Written, and Literate Process'. In an article on the early history of music writing, Treitler comments that early written sources 'show many signs of the continuing activities of oral processes along with written ones in the transmission of music, confirmation that writing was for a long time in support of, rather than in competition with, the oral performance tradition. The act of writing was thus a kind of

Objections are occasionally raised to the interpretation of melodic variants as evidence for an oral tradition, on the grounds that many of these variants may have been introduced by the scribes and not the trouvère or performer. Clearly some of the variants may be the result of scribal intervention, but the nature of the variants and the degree to which variation occurs suggest that their significance extends beyond the purely writerly intervention of individual scribes. Even if the scribes were ultimately responsible for a sizeable proportion of the variants, it is arguably all the more remarkable—particularly in the context of those manuscripts so closely related that they are likely to have used the same exemplar(s)—that the scribe(s) should, instinctively or deliberately, admit or introduce melodic variation, when, presumably, it would have been easier to copy the exemplar exactly (as, for the most part, the scribes of KNPX did for the main collection of chansons they share). Thus, fundamental to the understanding of trouvère melodies is the realization that the concept of a recoverable *Urtext* is in direct conflict with the nature of trouvère song: the trouvère art was a performance art in which each performance of an individual song involved a renewal or re-creation of that song.

The value of the study of multiple variants has been acknowledged by scholars of other oral traditions, as in the following comments by Albert Lord:

What I have said about the art of composition of oral traditional narrative song seems to apply as well to traditional lyric and ritual songs. It has been thought that, because they are short, oral traditional lyric songs undergo less variation between performances than oral traditional epics. Their brevity would make them easier to memorize. But as I have analysed both Serbo-Croatian oral traditional lyric poetry and some Latvian quatrains, I have discovered that they contain a more or less stable core of verses tied together by various kinds of what were later called rhetorical devices and surrounded by variant settings to which they are adapted. In her doctoral dissertation on Rumanian oral traditional songs, Dr. Margaret Hiebert Beissinger has pointed out a similar phenomenon in her material. It is to be noted that the 'more or less' can be made specific within definable parameters if one has a sufficient body of variants, and from the variants one can tell not only what variations are possible, but also exactly what variations have been used; they are, therefore, not what *could have been* used but what *have actually been* used. It is important to stress that this core does not argue the existence of a fixed text, but just as indicated, namely, 'a more or less stable core'.³⁰

In a number of instances, one of the melodies for an individual song is so widely divergent from the others that it is effectively a completely different melody:

performance analogous to singing out, and the written score served as an exemplification of the song, to be taken more as a model for performance than as a blueprint' ('The Early History of Music Writing in the West', *JAMS* 35 (1982), 237–79 at 237).

³⁰ Lord, 'Characteristics of Orality', *Oral Tradition*, 2/1 (1987), 54–72 at 64–5.

almost invariably, however, the widely divergent material is associated with the second-phase manuscripts, **R**, **V**, **A**, and **O**, or with later additions in other manuscripts. By far the most common situation, however, is where, despite slight variants, different manuscript readings for an individual song can be seen to share an underlying ‘basic’ melody. The principal purpose of the second half of this chapter is to examine the nature of the variants in this latter group and what they reveal about melodic processes in the *grands chans*.

Analysis of the melodic variants in Audefroï le Bastard’s chansons

The ten surviving chansons by Audefroï le Bastard are preserved in two manuscripts, **M** (Roi) and **T** (Noailles), in each of which the chansons are presented as a group, and in exactly the same order.³¹ Two of the chansons also occur in other manuscripts: one in **O**, and one in **R**.³² The metrical structure and the large-scale melodic structure of the chansons are summarized in Table 3.1. In the transmitted Bastard chansons there are two examples of a situation which occasionally arises in the trouvère repertoire, where individual chansons were notated at different pitches in different sources, namely, ‘Amours, de qui’ (Ex. 3.1) where the **T** melody is (in the original) notated a fifth higher than that of **M**, and ‘Destrois, pensis’ (Ex. 3.2) where, in the manuscript, the **T** melody is notated a fourth below the **M** melody. In the van der Werf transcriptions, used for convenience of comparison here, the **T** readings in both instances have been transposed. Apart from a few exceptions in ‘Destrois, pensis’ (which will be referred to below) the melodic shape and configurations of both readings are remarkably similar, but the variation arising from their having been notated at different pitches goes beyond the purely melodic and affects the whole ‘tonality’ or ‘modality’ of the song, particularly in the case of ‘Destrois, pensis’ (Ex. 3.2), where the melody of **T** is of a totally different character from the melody of **M**. This raises an interesting question whether, in the course of their oral transmission, melodies were recast (consciously or otherwise) in different modes. (Such procedures are not unknown in other oral traditions.) However, the fact that their melodic shape and figurations are so similar (particularly in the case of ‘Amours, de qui’) suggests that one of the scribes may have inadvertently notated the melody at the wrong pitch. While in the case of some songs that are

³¹ Following the collection of Bastard chansons in both sources is a group of *chansons de toile* by Bastard: six in **M** and three in **T**. Two of the *chansons de toile* also occur in **U** (‘Au nouvel tans’ and ‘En chambre a or’) and these two together with ‘Bele Ysabiauz’ also occur in **C**. The *chansons de toile* are not included in the present discussion.

³² The stylistic features of the unique melodies in **R** are discussed in Ch. 5. The extant Bastard song preserved in **R** is stylistically akin to other unique readings in **R** and is therefore not considered here.

TABLE 3.1. *Metrical and musical structure in the chansons of Audefroï le Bastard*

Destrois, pensis	a	b	a	b	b	a	a	b	
	7	7	7	7	7	7	3	7	
	<i>a</i>	<i>b</i>	<i>a</i> ⁱ	<i>b</i> ⁱ	<i>c</i>	<i>d</i>	<i>e</i>	<i>f</i>	
Pour travaill	a'	b'	a'	b'	b'	c	c	b'	$\frac{c}{3}$
	6+	6+	6+	6+	6+	6	6	6+	$\frac{3}{1}$
	<i>a</i>	<i>b</i>	<i>c</i>	<i>d</i>	<i>e</i>	<i>f</i>	<i>g</i>	<i>h</i>	<i>i</i>
Fine amours	a'	b	a'	b	b	a'	a'	c	c
	7+	7	7+	7	7	7+	7+	7	7
	<i>a</i>	<i>b</i>	<i>a</i>	<i>b</i>	<i>c</i>	<i>d</i>	<i>e</i>	<i>f</i>	<i>b</i>
Amours, de qui	a	b	a	b	b	a	a	b	
	8	8	8	8	8	8	8	8	
	<i>a</i>	<i>b</i>	<i>a</i>	<i>b</i>	<i>c</i>	<i>d</i>	<i>e</i>	<i>e</i> ⁱ	
Tant ai esté	a	b	a	b	b	a	a	b	
	10	10	10	10	10	10	10	10	
	<i>a</i>	<i>b</i>	<i>a</i>	<i>b</i>	<i>c</i>	<i>d</i>	<i>e</i>	<i>d</i> ⁱ	
Onques ne seu	a	b	a	b	b	a	a	b	
	7	7	7	7	7	7	7	7	
	<i>a</i>	<i>b</i>	<i>a</i>	<i>b</i> ⁱ	<i>c</i>	<i>d</i>	<i>e</i>	<i>f</i>	
Quant voi le tans	a	b	a	b	b	a	a	b	
	10	10	10	10	10	10	10	10	
	<i>a</i>	<i>b</i>	<i>a</i>	<i>b</i>	<i>c</i>	<i>d</i>	<i>e</i>	<i>d</i> ⁱ	
Bien doi faire	a	b	a	b	b	a	a	b	
	8	8	8	8	8	4	8	4	
	<i>a</i>	<i>b</i>	<i>a</i>	<i>b</i>	<i>c</i>	<i>d</i>	<i>e</i>	<i>f</i>	
Com esbahiz	a	b	b	a	a	c'	c'		
	4	6	4	6	4	6+	10+		
	<i>a</i>	<i>b</i>	<i>c</i>	<i>d</i>	<i>e</i>	<i>f</i>	<i>g</i>		
Ne sai mais	a'	b'	a'	b	b	a'	a'	b	
	6+	6+	6+	6	6	6+	6+	b	
	<i>a</i>	<i>b</i>	<i>a</i>	<i>b</i>	<i>c</i>	<i>d</i>	<i>e</i>	<i>f</i>	

The top line of each entry gives the rhyming structure (primes indicate feminine rhymes); the second line is the syllable count; and the third is the basic musical structure. Underlining indicates a refrain.

transmitted in a number of sources it might be possible to identify such transpositions as scribal errors, it is not possible to do so with certainty in the case of the two Bastard chansons since they are transmitted in only two sources. In any case, the issue is not a central one in the present discussion, nor does it arise in connection with any other of Bastard's chansons.

Despite the general uniformity in the presentation of the chansons in M and T, none of the versions they present for any given chanson is exactly the same in both manuscripts, a situation that provides an interesting opportunity to compare their melodic variants. We find that variation occurs at a number of different levels: (1) local variation, involving the neumes accompanying one or

two successive syllables; (2) larger-scale variation, involving variants on the neumes accompanying three or more successive syllables, up to half a line of text; or (3) more divergent variation, where the variation extends over a whole line, or over several lines. Most of Bastard's chansons have instances of variation at two or more of these different levels.

1. Local variation

Local variation, involving the neumes accompanying one or two syllables, occurs in Bastard's songs at line beginnings, mid-line contexts, and at line endings.

At line beginnings. Although Bastard's melodies are predominantly neumatic (with two, three, or more notes in the neume accompanying each syllable), the first syllable of each line is generally set to a single note, as is the second syllable (if marginally less often). It is noteworthy in Bastard's chansons that variation at line beginnings is less frequent than in the middle or at the end of the line, and, when variation does occur at the beginning of the line, it tends to be part of a larger-scale variation involving several syllables (of the type discussed in (2) below). However, local variation at line beginnings, when it occurs in Bastard's chansons, follows consistent patterns. Characteristically, where the first two neumes of one manuscript involve the repetition of a single pitch, one of the neumes in the other manuscript has the pitch a second above or below the repeated pitch of the other manuscript. In 'Amours, de qui' for instance (see Ex. 3.1), the T reading of line 5 has *e* on the first two syllables, whereas M has *d* on the first neume and *e* on the second. Similarly in line 6, T has two *b*'s, whereas M has *a* on the first neume and *b* on the second. Other examples are found in 'Fine amours' (Ex. 3.8), lines 1 and 3, and in 'Tant ai esté' (Ex. 3.6), line 5. In lines 1 and 3 of the latter song, however, where the repetition of a pitch over the first two syllables of a line occurs in one manuscript (M), the local pitch variation in the second manuscript (T) occurs on the second neume, and also involves the interval of a second. A different type of local variation at line beginnings is found in line 8 of 'Amours, de qui' (Ex. 3.1). In the T reading this line begins with two neumes involving an ascending minor third from *d* to *f*; the variant reading in M includes the intervening pitch *e* in its second neume.

In mid-line contexts. Mid-line local variation frequently involves a *plica* of some variety in one of the variant readings. The use of a *plica* in the trouvère sources overwhelmingly suggests that the pitch indicated by the *plica* note (i.e. that indicated by the tail) is virtually always a conjunct step, that is, the pitch immediately above or immediately below the main note to which it is attached. Furthermore, apart from the unusual case of the double *plica*, the *plica* note

almost always occurs as the last element of a neume, and, as in all the instances of its occurrence in Ex. 3.1, it is almost invariably followed by a neume beginning at a pitch a second or a third away from the main note to which the *plica* tail is attached.³³ In its pitch relationship to the following neume the *plica* note functions variously as a passing note between the two syllables (as in 5.3–4 and 7.6–7 of ‘Amours, de qui’), as a note anticipating the pitch of the next syllable (as in 1.3–4), or as a neighbour note (as in 6.3–4 and 6.6–7).

Local variation in mid-line contexts may involve a single, double, or compound *plica* in one manuscript in place of a single note or ligature, or indeed another *plica* form in the other manuscript. ‘Amours, de qui’ (Ex. 3.1) again offers a number of such examples: for instance, at 2.4 T has a two-note descending ligature and M has a single *plica* which contains the same two pitches *g–f*; these same two pitches also occur at 8.3, but, while in M they are notated in a two-note ligature, T has a double *plica* on *g*. At 6.6 T has an ascending three-note ligature and M has a plicated two-note ligature, and at 6.3 T has a four-note ligature, while M has a plicated three-note ligature. In all of these examples the exact same pitches are involved in the alternative readings, which again raises the question of whether the use of *plica* is merely an orthographic convention of particular scribes or whether it represents a real variant. As pointed out in Chapter 2, while the use of *plica* forms in the trouvère manuscript sources is inconsistent (with some manuscripts using them abundantly, and others only very rarely), nonetheless in a majority of the trouvère manuscripts they tend to be used particularly in association with certain consonants (notably, l, m, n, and r, but also *s/z*, t, and, occasionally, d and g), but also with diphthongs (or triphthongs), and, less frequently, with elision or contracted forms. Here again, in the chansons of Audefroï le Bastard, transmitted in the Phase I sources M and T, *plica* forms are overwhelmingly used in one or other of these contexts.³⁴

In other instances of local variation in mid-line contexts involving the use of *plica* forms, the readings in different manuscripts present variation in the actual pitches used, or in the number of pitches in the neumes accompanying individual syllables of text. A *plica* may be used where another manuscript has a single note. For example, at line 1.3 of ‘Amours, de qui’ (Ex. 3.1), T has a single

³³ A rare instance where a larger interval occurs is found in ‘Quant voi’ (Ex. 3.7) in the reading of T, at 5.3, where there is an interval of a fourth between the main note of the *plica* and the ensuing neume.

³⁴ Two of the exceptions to this pattern of occurrence are found in the song ‘Amours, de qui’ (Ex. 3.1) in its use over ‘de’ at 1.3 and over ‘a’ in line 4.4. The latter, however, relates to the relatively infrequent practice of copying out exactly the neume forms used in the first *pes* of the *frons* for the repeat of the melody in the second *pes*: at 2.4 (in the first *pes*) the *plica* is used in a conventional context (in association with the liquid ‘n’).

note *a* and **M** has a compound *plica* on *a* that has three components: a repeated *a* followed by *g*. Alternatively, the variation may involve two different *plicae*. In 7.6 there is a single *plica* in **M** and a double *plica* in **T**, and at 5.3 there is a double *plica* in **T** and a compound *plica* in **M**.

At line ending. Local variation at line ends can occur on the neume accompanying the last syllable, the penultimate syllable, or, more commonly, both.

While the neume accompanying the final syllable of a line is relatively stable in the transmitted trouvère songs surviving in more than one manuscript, variation does sometimes take place. In ‘Tant ai esté’ (Ex. 3.6) there is a pitch variation of a second on the last neume of lines 2 and 4. The effect of this variant is more structural than ornamental as the fact that **M** has the same end note (*g*) on all four lines of the *frons* while **T** has *g* and *a* alternately, giving a slightly different ‘tonal’ shape to the *frons*. The local variation, again involving the interval of a second, in lines 2 and 4 of ‘Destrois, pensis’ (Ex. 3.2) no doubt relates to the different tonal character of the two melodies, notated at different pitches in the original manuscripts. The **M** reading articulates the individual lines of the *frons* with alternating end notes *b–c’*, *b–c’* whereas the **T** melody has *b♭* (at the original pitch in the manuscript, *f*) on the final neume of all four lines. Each, however, makes sense in its own right, the **M** melody pointing ‘tonally’ to *c’*, and the **T** melody giving prominence to *b♭*.

The penultimate syllable of a line is very often set neumatically, a practice that can also be observed even in predominantly syllabic settings, and local variation on penultimate neumes frequently involves the substitution of more ‘ornamented’ versions of individual figurations. In such instances repeated notes play a prominent part. In Ex. 3.3(a) the reading of **M** has an extra note at the end of the penultimate neume, introducing a pitch that anticipates that of the first pitch of the following neume. Ex. 3.3(b) and (c) involve the repetition of a pitch at the beginning of penultimate neumes in the **M** readings. Ex. 3.3(d) and (e) also illustrate characteristic variants, whereby a descending binary ligature is replaced by a ternary one (d), and a *ternaria* by a *quarternaria* (e), extending the range of the neume to include a conjunct upper or lower note. Ex. 3.3(f) introduces a lower neighbouring note, giving a four-note neume in the place of a two-note neume in **T**. Ex. 3.3(g) illustrates the interchange of two common melodic formulae (involving different melodic shapes) on the penultimate syllable. Occasionally the penultimate syllable of the entire stanza has a significantly greater number of notes than other neumes in that melody (although this is more true of the works of other trouvères than in the songs of Audefroï), and variation can occur in the exact configuration of this more ornamental neume between manuscripts (see the **M** and **T** versions in Ex. 3.3(h)).

Similar procedures can be observed when the variation takes place over the two last syllables of a line (see Ex. 3.4). Sometimes the two manuscripts have exactly the same notes but they are distributed differently between the penultimate and last syllables of the line, as in Ex. 3.4(a) and (b). In the next four examples, Ex. 3.4(c)–(f), the expansion of the ‘closing figures’ by the repetition of pitches within the penultimate neume, and between the penultimate and final neume of the line, may be observed. In Ex. 3.4(g), although both manuscripts have an end-of-line pitch on *c*, the approach is effected differently: T descends by step from *f* and M approaches it from *d*. In Ex. 3.4(h) the simple closing figure from *f* through *e* to *d* found in T is rendered more elaborately in M by expanding the *f* upwards to the *g*, repeating it before returning to *f*, and then resolving down to *e* and *d* on the last syllable.

In many of the above examples of local variation in the transmitted chansons of Audefroï, T presents the simpler figurations and M the more elaborate. There is no evidence, of course, that any of the songs were performed exactly as written in either manuscript: the scribe of T may have intended to record only the skeleton of the melody, leaving its elaboration and embellishment to the performer. Nor does the possibility that individual scribes may have been responsible for individual variants invalidate these: on the contrary, it gives us an indication of various possibilities of variation as perceived by contemporaries or near-contemporaries, and in all likelihood by the ‘composer’. Furthermore, it is significant that the types of variants which occur between manuscripts are stylistically consistent with those occurring within a manuscript, or even within one manuscript reading of a single chanson (cf. the variant readings—at 1.3–4 and 3.3–4; 2.1 and 4.1—between the two strands of the *frons* of ‘Tant ai esté’—Ex. 3.6). Further examples of variation between the repeated strands of the *frons* occurring within a single manuscript reading of a chanson are found in ‘Amours, de qui (T 1.7 and 3.7; 2.7 and 4.7 in Ex. 3.1).

An examination of such local variants, while apparently concerned with *minutiae*, is nonetheless fruitful. Firstly, it highlights a vocabulary of common ornamental devices and of ‘formulaic’ melodic configurations used within the style. Ex. 3.5(a)–(e) illustrates some of the possibilities of varying five standard end-of-line figures based on surviving melodic variants of Bastard’s songs in T and M and on variants in repeated melodic passages in the reading of a chanson within each of those manuscripts. Secondly, it demonstrates that more ‘structural’ variants can also occur, involving variations of pitch at line beginnings, but, particularly, at line endings. And, thirdly, it demonstrates that among the most common forms of variation are the redistribution of pitches among neumes, and the use of repeated notes (within neumes, and in the transition

from one neume to another): the resultant effect on various aspects of the melodic rhetoric is addressed below in the discussion of larger-scale variation.

2. Larger-scale variation

Apart from the standard 'formulaic' figurations at line ends, the occurrence of isolated local variation, involving the neumes on only one or two successive syllables, is relatively rare. Far more frequent in the multiple variants of these Bastard chansons is where a number of variants, of the type described as local variants above, occur successively over several syllables, giving rise to a larger-scale variation. In 'Tant ai esté' (see Ex. 3.6), for instance, line 4 begins with a variation of pitch between the two manuscripts (the interval of a second apart); on the second syllable the same three-note figure is notated in **T** by a *ternaria* and in **M** by a plicated *binaria*, and on the third syllable, not only does a plicated ligature in **M** take the place of a *binaria* in **T**, but the neume is expanded in the plicated version by the repetition of the first pitch. Apart from the first syllable, the same pitches are involved in both manuscripts, and the same basic melodic shapes within each neume are preserved. By contrast, the parallel readings in the first half of line 2 have a greater degree of variation between the two manuscripts. Both manuscripts have the same point of departure (*g*), both have the same point of arrival at the end of the fourth neume (*f*), and, in between, the same pitches are used in both manuscripts (apart from the inflected *b*), but they are manipulated differently and distributed differently among the neumes, resulting in quite distinctive melodic variants in this half line. The repetition of *g* and the three-note ascent through a third, which is effected over the first two syllables in **T**, takes place over three syllables in **M**, the three-note ascent being distributed over the second and third syllables, rather than being accommodated on one syllable as in **T**. Likewise the three-note descent from *a* to *f* on the fourth syllable of **M** is expanded in **T** by a repetition of the intervening pitch *g*, and distributed over two syllables. In line 5 of the same song there is variation in the second half of the line on 5.6–10. The most significant variation occurs on syllables 7–8 where the simple *d'*–*c'* progression on 5.7 in **M** is replaced by a more ornamental configuration in **T**. Apart from the suspended *e'* at the beginning of 5.7 in **T**, both manuscripts remain within a range of *d'* to *a* in the second half of this line. However, because of the distribution and manipulation of the pitches within and between the neumes, and because the **M** reading introduces the final pitch *a* on the antepenultimate syllable, the individual formulations in each manuscript, though closely related, are nevertheless quite distinctive.

Another good example of larger-scale variation is presented by the two readings of 'Quant voi le tans verdier' (see Ex. 3.7). In line 1 only the first, second,

and final neumes are the same in both manuscripts. Between 1.3 and 1.9 both manuscripts remain within the same range *b* to *c*, and include the same pitches, but the melody is subtly manipulated in a slightly different way in each reading, giving a slight emphasis to different points in the melodic line by the use of repeated notes within a neume, by the varying placement of structurally important pitches, or by the redistribution of the same sequence of pitches among the accompanying syllables. Although such slight variations may seem quite innocuous, the effect on the melodic rhetoric of each individual reading is quite substantial. In the first line of 'Quant voi' the Treading articulates the line as 6 + 4, which corresponds to two hemistichs of the accompanying text. The sixth syllable is given a prominent musical accent by being set to *f*, a 'structural' pitch centre in this song, and the 6 + 4 division is further articulated by the break in conjunct motion at the end of the sixth neume. In T the second hemistich is set to an ascending figure from *c* through to *a* (the rising figure *c-d-f* is a very standard formula and the disjunct step it contains has not the effect of other disjunct figures), with the note *f* only used in a passing context.

By contrast, and although the same basic pitches and melodic shape are used, no such 6 + 4 division is apparent in the melodic rhetoric of the M reading. Here, the fifth syllable has a slight emphasis produced by the use of a repeated note and the extra effort required in its articulation. From that point the melodic line descends in conjunct motion down to *c*, with *f* used only as a passing note, and continues straight on to the eighth syllable, which has the first strong articulation of *f* in that line. This is followed by an emphatic penultimate syllable with its four-note neume, including repeated and anticipatory notes leading to the final syllable. Thus, the apparently slight variants between the two readings can be seen to produce quite different interpretations of the same basic melody manipulated in slightly different ways. Similar processes can be observed in the variant readings of lines 2 and 5. In both of these lines the same basic melodic shape and figurations are presented in the two readings, but the distribution of the neumes among the syllables varies, particularly in line 5. This gives rise to a significant variation in that the low or high points of the melody are reached at different points and on different syllables of the line, again giving rise to subtly different interpretations.

It is clear that this second category of variation (larger-scale variation) involves a succession of the type of variants found in the first category (local variation). Because the melodic style is so overwhelmingly based on conjunct motion, the occurrence of a variant neume on one syllable will frequently have a 'knock on' effect on the neumes immediately following, or even on those of the subsequent line. It is for this reason that larger-scale variation is more common than the instances of isolated local variation over one or two syllables. What is striking in

both local and larger-scale variation is that, underlying the variation, a number of constants are, for the most part, observed: these include the shape of the melody, melodic tessitura, and range, as well as important pitch centres.

3. More divergent variants

More divergent variants than those described above, involving the neumes accompanying a whole line or several lines of text, occur in some of the Bastard chansons and, significantly, these tend to occur in the latter part of the song. This is understandable within an oral tradition, especially with regard to melodies which have large-scale melodic repetition in the first half and little, or none, in the second.³⁵ In 'Fine amours' (Ex. 3.8), for instance, until the end of the *frons* (line 4) the variants are of the type discussed above, involving variants extending over only part of each line. However, in the *cauda* (from line 5 onwards), the T reading differs markedly from the other two manuscripts. The end notes in T for lines 5, 7, 8, and 9 are different from those in the other manuscripts, and in the second half of line 5, in line 7, and in line 8 the melodic shape of T is an inversion of the melodic shape in the other two sources.

Other instances of considerable divergence in the melodic readings involve pitch variation over an extended passage. Sometimes this variation is the product of scribal error, but in many other instances it would appear to be a product of a re-creative process. In 'Onques ne seu' (Ex. 3.9), for instance, the second and fourth lines of the *frons* and the first part of line 5 are consistently a third lower in M than in T. However, the divergent, but convincing, manner in which each melody develops in line 5 and essentially arrives at the same material in line 6 (though the neumes are distributed differently among the syllables in this line) and line 7, would suggest a process of reinvention rather than a mere error of copying. Another instance of the convincing manner in which points of divergence in the melodies subsequently resolve into convergence, strongly suggesting a process of reinvention (if only on the part of the scribe) rather than mechanical scribal error, is found in 'Destrois, pensis' (Ex. 3.2). There is a dramatic variation between the manuscript readings of line 7, where the melody of M is in the range *c'* to *g* and that of T is in the much higher range of *e'* to *a'*. In the first half of the following line (line 8), the material in each is further explored independently, undoubtedly as a consequence of the different character of each melody resulting from their notation at different pitches, but at the end of line 8, both readings resolve onto the same closing figure. Such divergence often occurs, as in this instance, in connection with short lines in heterometric stanza structures. If

³⁵ See the first, second, third, fifth, sixth, and seventh songs in Table 3.1.

we compare these chansons with others that primarily feature the lower degrees of variation (see, for instance, Ex. 3.10 and Ex. 3.11) then it is clear that similar local figurations occur in songs with divergent readings.

Two chansons by Bastard, 'Com esbahiz' and 'Ne sai mais', do not fit into any of the above categories of variation since **T** and **M** present what are, effectively, different melodies (and not merely variants) for each of the two chansons (see Ex. 3.12 and Ex. 3.13). In 'Com esbahiz', only four neumes are the same in both sources (4.4, 5.1, 6.2, and 7.5, i.e. one initial and three internal neumes) and in 'Ne sai mais', five neumes are the same (4.6, 7.3, 7.6⁺, 8.2, and 8.3), and most of these concordances are possibly coincidental. Despite the different melodic formulations they present, however, it is arguable that there is nonetheless a stylistic affinity between these melodies and the other Bastard chansons. All four melodies (the two formulations for each chanson) have melodic characteristics (such as the range, tessitura, etc.) that find parallels among the other Bastard chansons, and they are all in similar, predominantly neumatic settings using conjunct motion.³⁶ Although the individual formulations are stylistically feasible, it is difficult to suggest which version might represent the 'basic melody', given that there are no other extant versions for these two chansons with which to compare them. In the case of 'Ne sai mais', the **M** melody is entered by a late hand on staves left empty by the original scribe(s), which might suggest that the **T** melody is closer to the basic melody. Interestingly, however, the notator of the melody in **M** makes no attempt to record the melody in mensural notation, as in other late additions to the same manuscript. So this melody most probably represents a late attempt to provide a melody in the old style; the possibility cannot be ruled out entirely that the late scribe may have had an earlier source available, in which case this melody might in fact be closer to the trouvère's 'core melody'.

Implications of the Study of Multiple Melodic Variants

A study of the multiple variants yields, in the first instance, a vocabulary of variants used in the high-style chansons of the trouvères. While it is important to recognize this vocabulary as invaluable material for use in the re-creative process

³⁶ This is in marked contrast to the single representation of Bastard's works in the manuscript **R**, 'Bien doi faire' (Ex. 3.10), whose melody is not only totally different from the melodic readings in the other two manuscripts (**M** and **T**), which are clearly related, but from any other extant melody for Bastard's chansons. The melody of **R** differs in almost every aspect of its melodic style but most noticeably in its setting, which is predominantly syllabic, whereas that of the other manuscripts is predominantly neumatic, with neumes of two or more notes per syllable.

of performance, and not as a proliferation of corruptions of a hypothetical *Urtext*, it is equally important to study the art of manipulating these melodic figures in an idiomatic manner. Lord makes a similar point with regard to the art of composition in other oral traditions:

Tradition consists not only of a body of thought, formulas, and themes, but, equally importantly, tradition also embraces an *art* of composition, which has shaped the formulas and themes used to express that body of thought. It is this art which gives the traditional singer a design. He makes lines, he constructs themes, he composes songs in accordance with that design. The tradition which he receives and in his turn transmits is a tradition of making lines, not of merely reciting already fixed expressions, although there are some more or less stable formulas, which he makes his own by using them.³⁷

It is interesting that rhetorical techniques of poetic rhetoric, as outlined in the writings of theorists such as Geoffroi de Vinsauf and Brunetto Latini, are not entirely dissimilar to the process described by Lord.³⁸ Although no similar elaborate treatises on musical rhetoric exist, it is arguable that one element of the musical equivalent to the poetic rhetoric, for instance, is the process of manipulating the vocabulary of musical variants. The transmitted repertoire would seem to indicate that the musical rhetoric was less subject to prescription than the poetic rhetoric, which operates within strict thematic, metrical, and structural confines. This is not to suggest, however, that the melodies were free, improvised rhapsodies: the multiple variants demonstrate that the manipulation of these melodic figures operated within certain stylistic parameters (observing the constants referred to above). This has obvious implications for matching words and music in all stanzas after the initial one, the texts of which are written in prose format under the initial strophe. The melodies can be manipulated in various ways, admitting the possibility of varying the delivery of individual melodic phrases to highlight particular points in the new text, but also introducing variation, not as a direct consequence of the text, but for purely musical purposes of melodic *variatio*, along the lines of given models and always remaining within the recognized tenets of the style. Likewise this has consequences for how we must approach and interpret the transmitted repertoire.

³⁷ Lord, 'Characteristics of Orality', 63–4. Treitler also comments perceptively in this regard that 'how the singer learns—not songs but how to make them—is a matter of the greatest importance for the theory of oral composition' (Treitler, 'Homer and Gregory', 357).

³⁸ Vinsauf, Latini, and others comment on the central role of *variatio* in poetic development and they define *interpretatio* and *expoliitio* as the art of accumulating words around an idea, and of varying the expression of the idea by the use of language (comprising the use of a variety of devices including *membrum*, *articulus*, *anominatio*, *contrarium*, and *contentio*, to mention but a few) and by the varying tone of the voice. Dragonetti's study (*La Technique poétique*) identifies these and other 'rhetorical' devices in the poetic texts of the trouvères.

If a melody exists in only one source, account must be taken of the others that are no longer extant.

The extent and nature of the melodic variants constantly highlight the performance aspect of the trouvère art, and underline the analogies with other oral traditions. In several of its essential characteristics, the performance art of the trouvères echoes certain aspects of other orally transmitted song repertoires. Bonnie Wade, for instance, in a study on Indian classical music, documents that one of the main aims of a performer in that tradition is to achieve a distinctive individuality in his performance by introducing a degree of variation, while remaining within the recognized tenets of the style.³⁹ The same is true of the Irish high-style (*sean nós*, literally, 'old style') solo song tradition.⁴⁰ It is arguable that the multiple variants in the extant trouvère repertoire are, for the most part, most logically, and fruitfully, interpreted in the light of such conventions in other oral traditions. Certainly, other aspects of the surviving variants in trouvère song point to the reliance on memory as a vehicle of transmission,⁴¹ as in other oral traditions.

Although the question of rhythm is not a central concern in this book, the analogies between trouvère song and other oral traditions mentioned above may also have implications for an approach to rhythm in trouvère art. For instance, traditional Irish music, like the trouvère repertoire, contains contrasting lyric, narrative, and dance genres. Just like the slow airs of the 'high style' Irish *sean nós* song tradition, the chanson too was a solo song tradition: it did not have to provide a regular metre for dancers; it did not have to accommodate accompanying polyphonic voices; nor did it have to accommodate other voices singing in unison.⁴² Furthermore, Old French lyric verse was not structured like Latin

³⁹ B. C. Wade, 'Performance Practice in Indian Classical Music', in G. Béhague (ed.), *Performance Practice: Ethnomusicological Perspectives* (London, 1984), 13–52 (esp. 43–7). See also B. Nettl, 'Thoughts on Improvisation: A Comparative Approach', *MQ* 60 (1984), 1–19 (esp. 13 and 18–19).

⁴⁰ See the introductory essay in L. de Noraídh, *Ceol ón Mumhain* (Dublin, 1965), 9–14.

⁴¹ It was observed above that the greatest amount of variation tends to occur in the second half of the stanza and in particular in the last few lines. This is a very common feature in the extant versions of trouadour and trouvère song and, as van der Werf has pointed out (*The Chansons*, 26–8), it is what one might expect in an orally transmitted song. It is particularly true of chansons in so-called 'bar' form (ABAB CDEF...), where the melody of the first two lines of text is repeated for the third and fourth lines: since the melody is heard twice in the first part of each stanza it is, of course, more likely to be remembered accurately than the melody of the *cauda*.

⁴² Dante also identifies its lack of dependence on anything exterior (dancers, etc.) as one of the features which distinguishes it from other genres, and which makes it more noble than them: 'Adhuc: quicquid per se ipsum efficit illud ad quod factum est, nobilius esse videtur quam quod extrinseco indiget: sed cantiones per se totum quod debent efficiunt, quod ballate non faciunt: indigent enim plausoribus, ad quos edite sunt; ergo cantiones nobiliores ballatis esse sequitur extimandas, et per consequens nobilissimum aliorum esse modum illarum, cum nemo dubitet quin ballate sonitus nobilitate excellent' [Furthermore, anything that can effect in itself that for which it was made seems more noble than that which has need of something exterior: the *cantiones* [cansos] can in themselves effect all that they are supposed to, something which *ballate* do not, as they need dancers to effect their full purpose; thus, it follows that *cantiones* must

quantitative verse, but instead was structured syllabically with only one fixed accent, occurring at the end of the line (except in the case of lines of ten or more syllables, which also had a strong internal accent) and a range of irregularly occurring lesser stresses within the line. The fourteenth-century treatise *Leys d'Amors* characterizes the high-style *vers* and *canço* as having 'a long, slow punctuated melody, newly composed, with beautiful and melodious ascents and descents, and with beautiful ornaments [*passadas*] and with pleasing pauses'.⁴³ The implicit aesthetic here is very close to that of the higher-style *sean nós* song, with its slow, highly ornate melodies, punctuated by different types of pauses and breaks, and, moreover, the melodies do not have any fixed rhythmic structure.⁴⁴ The shared generic and aesthetic characteristics of both the *sean nós* song and the trouvère chanson would strongly suggest that, like the former, distinctive, fixed rhythmic patterns were not an essential feature either of the compositional or performance rhetoric of the trouvère chanson.⁴⁵ This is not to suggest that the chansons were totally a-rhythmic, or that no chanson or portion thereof was performed rhythmically, but rather, that the lack of a fixed rhythm was part of the flexibility afforded to individual trouvères and performers, providing an extra possibility for individuality in the re-created song.⁴⁶ Certainly, the extensive melodic variation in the trouvère chanson leaves little possibility for individual melodies to retain a distinct fixed rhythmic identity.

be considered more noble than *ballate*, and that consequently their form is more noble than all others, since no one doubts that in nobility of form, *ballate* surpass the *sonitus*]; *De vulgari eloquentia*, II. iii. 5, ed. Marigo, 182–4.

⁴³ 'Vers deu aver lonc so e pauzat e noel, am belas e melodiozas montadas e deshendudas e am belas passadas e plazens pauzas'; *Las Flors de Gay Saber, estier dichas Las Leys d'Amors*, ed. A.-F. Gatién-Arnoult, vol. i (Monuments de la littérature romane depuis le 14^e siècle; Paris, 1841), 338. This description contrasts with the characterization in the treatise *Doctrina de compondre dictats* of the melody appropriate for the *dansa*: 'Dansa es dita per ço com naturalment la ditz hom dança[n] o bayllan, cor deu [haver] so plazent; e la ditz hom ab esturmens, e plau a cascus que la diga e la escout [The *dansa* is so called because normally it is danced to while it is being performed, thus it should have a pleasing melody; and it is performed to the accompaniment of instruments, and it pleases everyone who performs and listens to it]'; *The Razos de Trobar*, ed. Marshall, 98.

⁴⁴ L. de Noraídh's analysis of performances of *sean nós* songs evokes an ethos which would seem to be resonant of that of the high-style trouvère chanson, notably in his description of the lack of consistent tempo or rhythm; the use of different types of pauses or breaks (as articulation, ornamentation, accentuation, and as a rhetorical device); the flexibility with regard to mode and inflection; the vocalization of the consonants l, m, n, and r; the use of paragogic syllables; the lengthening of certain notes; and, more generally, in his observation on the importance of variation in the style: 'What is heard is not the song itself, but a version of the song; what is printed is not the song itself, but a version of the song. Moreover, it is seldom that the music is exactly the same in any two verses [strophes] of a song, especially in the slow airs . . . One could therefore say that every native singer is, unconsciously, a composer of sorts'; de Noraídh, *Ceol ón Mumhain*, 9–14 at 9.

⁴⁵ I am referring here to the high-style songs of both traditions, and not to dance songs that, of necessity, have fixed rhythmic patterns, nor to the lighter-style songs in which recurring rhythmic patterns may have played a part.

⁴⁶ For a discussion of this point in relation to the troubadour repertoire see G. Le Vot, 'Notation, mesure et rythme dans la *canço* troubadouresque', *CCM* 24–5 (1981–2), 205–17.

Both music and text in the trouvère chansons testify to the central role of orality in the art of the trouvères. It will be clear that in order to progress to a more detailed exploration of aspects of the melodic art of the trouvères it is necessary to consider both melodies and texts together. Thus, the next stage in this examination of the early trouvère repertoire will take the form of a study of the lyric art of one of its most brilliant exponents, Gautier de Dargies.

Ex. 3.1. 'Amours, de qui j'esmuet mon chant' (R/S 311): T, fo. 56^r (notated a fifth higher in the MS) and M, fo. 147

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8

T

M

1. A - mours, de qui j'es - mues mon chant 2. M'a si a son vo - loir me - né

3. Que del tout sui a son con - mant 4. Et se - rai a sa vo - len - té;

5. N'aine ne me vi des - con - for - té 6. De li ser - vir, maiz plus en - grant

7. Me truis a - dés, con fin a - mant, 8. De cuer ve - rai en - a - mou - ré.

Ex. 3.2. 'Destrois, pensis, en esmai' (R/S 77): T, fo. 57^r (notated a fourth lower in the MS), and M, fos. 147^v–148

The musical score is written for two voices, Tenor (T) and Mezzo (M), in a single system. The key signature has one flat (B-flat). The Tenor part is written on a staff with a C-clef (soprano position) and a key signature of one flat. The Mezzo part is written on a staff with a C-clef (alto position) and a key signature of one flat. The score consists of eight numbered measures, each with a corresponding line of lyrics. The lyrics are: 1. Des - trois, pen - sis, en es - mai 2. Chant de bone a - mour sou - pris 3. Et faz sam - blant cointe et gai, 4. La u pluz sui d'ire es - pris, 5. Ma dou - ce dame u j'ai pris 6. Les maus que ja ne vain - trai, 7. Et s'en trai 8. La pain - ne con fins a - mis.

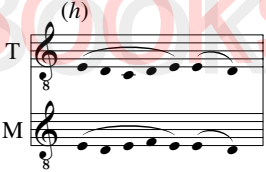
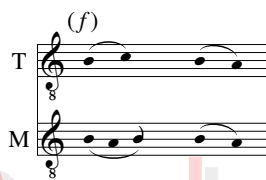
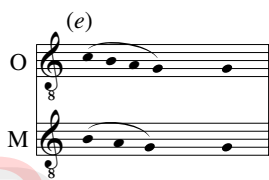
1. Des - trois, pen - sis, en es - mai 2. Chant de bone a - mour sou - pris

3. Et faz sam - blant cointe et gai, 4. La u pluz sui d'ire es - pris,

5. Ma dou - ce dame u j'ai pris 6. Les maus que ja ne vain - trai,

7. Et s'en trai 8. La pain - ne con fins a - mis.

Ex. 3.3. Local variation on penultimate neumes in Bastard's chansons: (a) 'Bien doi', 4.7–8; (b) 'Fine amours', 8.6–7; (c) 'Onques ne', 7.6–7; (d) 'Quant voi', 2.7–10; (e) 'Bien doi', 9.6–7; (f) 'Tant ai', 7.9–10; (g) 'Fine amours', 2.6–7; (h) 'Bien doi', 8.3–4

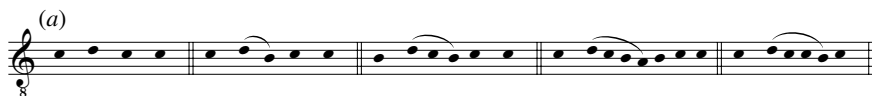


Ex. 3.4. Local variation over last two syllables of a line in Bastard's chansons: (a) 'Bien doi', 2.7–8; (b) 'Pour travail', 2.6–7; (c) 'Bien doi', 6.3–4; (d) 'Amours', 4.7–8; (e) 'Amours', 2.7–8; (f) 'Pour travail', 9.2–3; (g) 'Quant voi', 6.9–10; (h) 'Bien doi', 5.7–8

The image displays eight musical examples, labeled (a) through (h), arranged in a 4x2 grid. Each example consists of two staves, labeled 'T' (Tenor) and 'M' (Mezzo), with a common 8-measure bar line. The notation shows various melodic patterns and rests for the last two syllables of a line.

- (a) 'Bien doi', 2.7–8: T staff has a half note on G4, a quarter note on A4, and a half note on G4. M staff has a half note on G3, a quarter note on A3, and a half note on G3.
- (b) 'Pour travail', 2.6–7: T staff has a half note on G4, a quarter note on A4, a quarter note on B4, and a half note on G4. M staff has a half note on G3, a quarter note on A3, a quarter note on B3, and a half note on G3.
- (c) 'Bien doi', 6.3–4: T staff has a half note on G4, a quarter note on A4, and a half note on G4. M staff has a half note on G3, a quarter note on A3, and a half note on G3.
- (d) 'Amours', 4.7–8: T staff has a half note on G4, a quarter note on A4, and a half note on G4. M staff has a half note on G3, a quarter note on A3, and a half note on G3.
- (e) 'Amours', 2.7–8: T staff has a half note on G4, a quarter note on A4, and a half note on G4. M staff has a half note on G3, a quarter note on A3, and a half note on G3.
- (f) 'Pour travail', 9.2–3: T staff has a half note on G4, a quarter note on A4, and a half note on G4. M staff has a half note on G3, a quarter note on A3, and a half note on G3.
- (g) 'Quant voi', 6.9–10: T staff has a half note on G4, a quarter note on A4, and a half note on G4. M staff has a half note on G3, a quarter note on A3, and a half note on G3.
- (h) 'Bien doi', 5.7–8: T staff has a half note on G4, a quarter note on A4, and a half note on G4. M staff has a half note on G3, a quarter note on A3, and a half note on G3.

Ex. 3.5. Variations of five standard end-of-line figures based on variant readings in T and M of Bastard's chansons: (a) 'Fine amour' (Ex. 3.8); (b) 'Bien doi' (Ex. 3.10); (c) 'Pour travail' (Ex. 3.11); (d) 'Bien doi' (Ex. 3.10); (e) 'Amours, de qui' (Ex. 3.1)



Ex. 3.6. 'Tant ai esté pensis iréement' (R/S 688): T, fo. 54^v; M, fo. 145

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10

T

M

1. Tant ai es - - té pen - - sis i - - ré - - e - - ment

2. Qu'a pou n'en ai tout per - - du le chan - - ter,

3. Maiz fine a - - - mors tant m'en - saigne et a - - - prent

4. Que le mien chant me fait re - - - nou - ve - - - ler,

5. Si chan - te - - - rai pour moi re - - - - con - for - - - ter,

6. Quant ma da - - - me n'a vo - loir ne ta - - - lent

7. De moi fai - - - re nul as - sou - a - ge - - - ment,

8. Si m'en con - - - vient maint grief sous - - - pir je - - - ter.

Ex. 3.7. 'Quant voi le tans verdier' (R/S 1260): T, fo. 54^{r-v}; M, fo. 145

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10

T

M

1. Quant voi le tans ver - - dir et blan - - choi - - er,

2. Ces oi - - seil - - lons lor joi - - e de - - me - - ner,

3. Le rou - - sei - - gnol ap - - pa - - roir u ver - - gier,

4. Seur la fueil - - le ren - - voi - - sier et chan - - ter,

5. Lors me con - - vient mon chant re - - nou - - ve - - ler

6. Vers fine a - - mours qui m'a en son dan - - gier,

7. Si me puet bien a son gre jus - - ti - - cier

8. Et les gries maus que j'ai guer - - re - - dou - - ner.

Ex. 3.8. 'Fine amours en esperance' (R/S 223); O, fo. 55; T, fos. 55^v–56; M, fo. 146^v

1. Fine a - mours en es - pe - ran - ce 2. M'a mis et dou - né vo - loir

3. De chan - ter pour a - le - jan - ce 4. Des maus que mi fait a - voir

5. Ce - le qui bien a po - oir 6. D'a - me - nui - sier ma gre - van - ce;

7. Maiz pa - our ai et dou - tan - ce 8. Que par fe - lons lo - sen - gier

9. Ne me vueil - le jus - ti - cer.

Ex. 3.9. 'Onques ne seu tant chanter' (R/S 831): T, fo. 56^v; M, fo. 147

1. On - ques ne seu tant chan - ter 2. Que le me vous - sist me - rir

3. A - mours, ainz me fait pen - ser 4. La u ne puis a - ve - nir,

5. Si me con - ven - dra sou - frir 6. Ce que ne puis a - men - der,

7. Maiz grief m'iert a con - sir - rer 8. Del don que vueil et de - sir.

Ex. 3.10. 'Bien doi faire mes chanz oir' (R/S 1436): R, fo. 13^{r-v}; T, fo. 55; M, fo. 145^v

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8

R
T
M

1. Bien doi fai - re mes chanz o - ir, 2. Puiz que j'ai si bone o - choi - son,

3. Quant la rienz que je pluz de - sir 4. M'a proi - é de fai - re chan - çon,

5. Si ai mout a - ve - nant rai - son 6. De li ser - vir,

Car je ne puiz au - tre - ment

7. Quar ne puis au - tre - ment ve - nir 8. A gua - ri - son.

Ex. 3.II. 'Pour travail ne pour painne' (R/S 139): T, fo. 55^{r-v}; M, fo. 146

1 2 3 4 5 6 ~ 1 2 3 4 5 6 ~

T

M

1. Pour tra - vaill ne pour pain - ne, 2. Ne pour do - lour que j'ai - e,

3. Ne pour i - - re gre - vain - ne, 4. Ne pour mal que je trai - e,

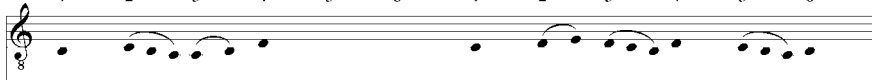
5. Ne quier que me re - trai - e 6. De ma dame a nul jour

7. Pour qui sous - pir et plour, 8. Tant l'aim d'a - mour ve - rai - e

9. Sanz fo - lour.


Ex. 3.12. 'Com esbahiz' (R/S 729): T, fo. 55^v; M, fo. 146


1 2 3 4 5 6 1 2 3 4 5 6

T 

M 

1. Com es - - ba - - hiz 2. M'es - tuet chan - ter sou - vent

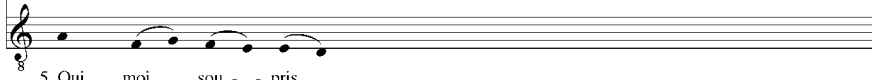





3. De - sir - - ran - ment, 4. De bone a - mour pen - sis,

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10





5. Qui moi sou - - pris





6. Des - trai - gnant - ment des - - voi - - e





7. Si que ne sai se faz sens u fo - - loi - - e.

Ex. 3.13. 'Ne sai mais en quel guise' (R/S 1628): T, fo. 56^v; M, fo. 147^v

1 2 3 4 5 6 1 2 3 4 5 6

T

M

1. Ne sai mais en quel guise 2. Puisse a joie a ve - nir.

3. Quant me het et mes - pri - se 4. Ce - le por qui sos - pir

5. Sans vo - loir de me - rir; 6. Mais puis qu'en moi s'est mi - se

7. A - mors qui me jus - ti - se, 8. Bien doi les maus souf - frir.



The Lyric Art of the Trouvères: The Courtly Chansons of Gautier de Dargies

The Manuscript Tradition of Dargies's Chansons

Gautier de Dargies was a seminal figure among the early generation of trouvères: not only does his output demonstrate a profound and sophisticated assimilation of the lyric art imported from his southern predecessors, but it also demonstrates a skill, flair, and individuality which helped to establish trouvère art as a distinctive entity. Born c.1170,¹ his career overlapped with, among others, those of Blondel de Nesle, Chastelain de Coucy, and Gace Brulé, and his work was to have a considerable influence on his contemporaries and successors. Dargies's output comprises twenty chansons (two of which survive without music,² and in the case of three others, the attribution is uncertain),³ and three *descorts*.⁴ Two *jeux-partis* also survive in which Dargies is one of the named participants.⁵

Dargies is represented in thirteen of the surviving chansonniers preserving music and text (KNPX, A, L, M, R, T, U, V, Z, and a), as well as in three others

¹ Huet presents evidence which suggests that Dargies may still have been alive as late as 1236: see G. Huet, *Chansons et descorts de Gautier de Dargies* (SATF; Paris, 1912), pp. xxv–xxviii. See also Gautier de Dargies, *Poesie*, ed. Raugé, 30–3.

² The chanson 'En grant aventure ai mise' (R/S 1633), survives only in Roi (M), where it is copied under empty music staves. Likewise, the chanson 'Au commencier du douz tens qui repere' (R/S 176) occurs in only one source, P: here again the staves are left blank. Raugé (Dargies, *Poesie*, 104) states erroneously that 'Au commencier' is transmitted in P with a melody.

³ The three dubious chansons are 'Se j'ai esté' (R/S 1575), 'Au tens gent que raverdoie' (R/S 1753), and 'Quant il ne pert fueille ne flours' (R/S 2036).

⁴ The *descorts* 'J'ai maintes foiz chanté' (R/S 416), 'La douce pensée' (R/S 539), and 'De celi me plaig' (R/S 1421) survive with music in only two manuscripts, M and T. 'La douce pensée' also survives in C and 'De celi me plaig' in U, but without music in each case. These would appear to be the first *descorts* written in Old French.

⁵ These are 'A vous, me sire Gautier' (R/S 1282) and 'Amis Richart, j'eüsse bien mestier' (R/S 1290); only the former survives with music.

which record only the texts (C, I, and b).⁶ In eight of the sources with music the Dargies songs occur as a group, and, on the basis of the selection and order of presentation of the songs, these eight sources divide into the two manuscript families, KNPX, and M, T, A, a. The largest collections of Dargies's works are found in M,⁷ which transmits twenty works, and T, which transmits sixteen.⁸ All of the Dargies songs in T are also found in M, and in both manuscripts the common works occur in a similar order (see Table 4.1). Related to M and T in their selection and order of presentation of Dargies works are a and A. The first of these, a, lists six chansons by Dargies in the index at the head of the manuscript; however, two of these six chansons have subsequently been lost due to the mutilation of fo. 14.⁹ The first five chansons listed in the index of a occur in exactly the same order in A (see Table 4.1), indicating a close relationship between these two manuscripts within the M, T, a, A group. The selection and order of presentation of Dargies's works in the second manuscript group, KNPX, is represented in Table 4.2.

In the collection of Dargies's songs found in K, N, and X each manuscript presents eight chansons in exactly the same order. Seven of these eight chansons also occur in the group of Dargies songs in P but they are interspersed with two other chansons: the dubious chanson 'Au tens gent' and the chanson 'Au commencier du douz tens'; the eighth chanson of the Dargies collection in K, N, and X, 'Quant il ne pert', occurs separately in P, and is attributed to Gautier de Soignies. Two of the dubious Dargies songs occur in this manuscript family and are not found in the other manuscript family (M, T, A, a). The dubious chanson 'Au tens gens', which occurs as the second in the group of Dargies chansons in P, also occurs in K and N, but separate from the Dargies collection in each manuscript: in K it is attributed to Dargies, but in N it is attributed to Gautier de Soignies. The second dubious chanson, 'Quant il ne pert fueille ne flours' occurs in M (where it is attributed to Raous de Ferier) and in KNPX: in K, N, and X it occurs as the last song in the Dargies group, and in P it occurs

⁶ C (Bern, Stadtsbibliothek, 389) transmits eleven of Dargies's works, although only five are attributed to him in the manuscript. Of the other six, one (the dubious 'Se j'ai esté', R/S 1575) is attributed to Chatelain de Coucy, and the others have no attributions. I (Oxford, Bodleian, Douce 308) contains only one song, 'Quant li tans', with no attribution, and b (Vatican, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Reg. lat. 1522) contains the two *jeux-partis*, with attributions.

⁷ The M collection of Dargies songs includes 'N'est pas a soi', which is in fact by Brulé, and it does not contain the Dargies song 'Or chant nouvel'. Otherwise M contains the most complete and accurate presentation of Dargies's works.

⁸ Both M and T contain the three *descorts*. They occur with music in no other source. T, like M, omits 'Or chant nouvel' as well as 'He Diex' and 'Je ne me doi'; significantly, however, it does not include the Brulé song.

⁹ Raugei, in Dargies, *Poesie*, II incorrectly states that five of the six Dargies chansons listed in the index are complete and that a fragment of the sixth survives; there are only four complete songs and only the last strophe (therefore text and no music) of a fifth chanson.

TABLE 4.1. *Transmission of works by Gautier de Dargies in M, T, a, and A*

M, fos. 77–86	T, fos. 141 ^v –148 ^v	Index of a	A, fos. 156 ^r –157 ^v
Ainc mais ne fis	Ainc mais ne fis	Quant li tans xiiii	Quant li tans
En icel tanz	En icel tanz	Maintes foiz xiiii	Maintes foiz
Autres que	Autres que	Humilitez xv	Humilitez
Bien me quidai	Bien me quidai	Chançon ferai xv	Chançon ferai
Desque ci ai	Quant li tans	La gent dient xv	La gens dient
Une chose	Maintes foiz	Desque ci ai xvi	
	Desque ci ai		
[3 descorts]	Quant la saisons	[fo. xiiii missing]	
De celi me plaig	La gens dient		
La douce pensee	Humilitez		
J'ai maintes foiz	Chançon ferai	[jeux-parti]	[jeux-parti]
	*Se j'ai esté	fo. 134 ^{r-v}	fos. 136 ^v –137
Quant li tans	Une chose	A vous me sire Gautier	A vous me sire Gautier
Maintes foiz			
Quant la saisons	[3 descorts]		
La gens dient	De celi me plaig		
Humilitez	La douce pensée		
Chançon ferai	J'ai maintez foiz		
*Se j'ai esté			
**N'est pas a soi			
He Diex!			
En grant aventure			
Je ne me doi			
fo. 83 ^{r-v}			
*Quant il ne pert			
(Raous de ferier)			

NOTE. Single asterisks indicate dubious songs; double asterisks indicate songs falsely attributed to Dargies.

separate from the Dargies group and is attributed to Gautier de Soignies. The third dubious chanson, 'Se j'ai esté', attributed to Dargies in **M** and **T**, occurs in **KNPX** as part of a collection of works by Gace Brulé. In **P** the chanson 'Contre tens que voi frimer' by Gace Brulé is attributed to Dargies in the two instances in which it occurs, although it does not occur in the main group of Dargies songs. Finally, 'Quant li tans', attributed to Dargies in **M** and **T**, also occurs in **K**, **N**, and **X**, in each of which it is attributed to the otherwise unknown Sauvage d'Arraz.¹⁰

None of the remaining five manuscripts preserving both music and text presents Dargies's songs as a group. The chansons they contain occur either with no attribution, as in **U**, **V**, **Z**, **L** (and in the case of one chanson, 'Quant li

¹⁰ Raugei, in Dargies, *Poesie*, discusses the question of conflicting attributions (if not exhaustively) on pp. 24–7.

TABLE 4.2. *Transmission of works by Gautier de Dargies in K, N, P, and X*

K, pp. 126–32	N, fos. 74 ^v –77 ^v	X, fos. 88–92	P, fos. 52–56 ^v
**Bien font amors	**Bien font amors	**Bien font amors	**Bien font amors
Desque ci ai	Desque ci ai	Desque ci ai	*Au tens gent
He Diex!	He Diex!	He Diex!	Desque ci ai
			He Diex!
			Au commencer
Autres que	Autres que	Autres que	Autres que
Chançon ferai	Chançon ferai	Chançon ferai	Chançon ferai
Or chant nouvel	Or chant nouvel	Or chant nouvel	Or chant nouvel
Quant la saisons	Quant la saisons	Quant la saisons	Quant la saisons
*Quant il ne pert	*Quant il ne pert	*Quant il ne pert	
pp. 61–2	fos. 19 ^v –20	fo. 48	fo. 5
*Se j'ai esté	*Se j'ai esté	*Se j'ai esté	*Se j'ai esté
(Gace Brulé)	(Gace Brulé)	(Gace Brulé)	(Gace Brulé)
p. 220	fo. 106 ^v		fos. 65 and 151 ^{r-v}
*Au tens gent	*Au tens gent		**Contre tens
(Dargies)	(Gautier de Soignies)		(Dargies)
p. 254	fo. 124 ^v	fos. 171 ^v –172	fo. 76 ^v
Quant li tans	Quant li tans	Quant li tans	*Quant il ne pert
(Sauvage d'Arraz)	(Sauvage d'Arraz)	(Sauvage d'Arraz)	(Gautier de Soignies)

NOTE. Unless otherwise indicated all songs listed are attributed to Gautier de Dargies in the manuscripts. Single asterisks indicate dubious Dargies songs, double asterisks indicate songs falsely attributed to Dargies.

tans' (fo. 131^{r-v}) in R),¹¹ or with attributions to other authors, as in R, where both 'Autres que' (fo. 47^v) and 'Se j'ai esté' (fo. 48^{r-v}) are attributed to the Chastelain de Coucy.

On the basis of variants in the poetic texts of Dargies's chansons, Anna Maria Raugé, in her excellent edition of these texts, identifies three families, largely corresponding to the manuscript groupings of Schwan (*Die altfranzösische Liederhandschriften*): (1) A, M, T, a; (2) KNPX, with the manuscripts L, V, and, to a lesser extent, R, also showing relationships with this group; and (3) C, U, and I. Individual chansons occasionally cross these boundaries and show a relationship with a manuscript from another family.¹²

A brief examination of the melodies of the chansons with a view to establishing closer or further interrelationships between the manuscripts does not yield

¹¹ U contains five Dargies chansons: 'En icel tens' (fo. 49^v), 'La gens dient' (fo. 57^v), 'Dusques ci ai' (fo. 61^r), 'Maintes fois' (fo. 62^{r-v}), 'Quant li tans' (fo. 123^v) and the text only of the *descort* 'De celi me plaig' (fos. 168–9); V contains two songs, 'Se j'ai esté' (fos. 30^v–31^r) and 'Quant li tans' (fos. 96^v–97^r); Z contains only one Dargies chanson, 'Une chose' (fos. 9^v–10); L contains 'Se j'ai esté' (fo. 50^v).

¹² See Dargies, *Poesie*, ed. Raugé, II–12.

a neat, consistent picture, consolidating evidence of related manuscripts on the basis of textual variants. On the contrary, it compounds the already intricate stemmata, presenting a kaleidoscope of interrelations and divergences. As in the case of the poetic texts, so too in the melodies of Dargies's chansons the manuscripts **K**, **N**, **P**, and **X** for the most part present consistent and uniform readings, with only slight variations.¹³ **L** transmits only one Dargies chanson, the dubious 'Se j'ai esté': in its reading of this song, it reveals a clear relationship with the **KNPX** family, thereby substantiating the relationship observed with regard to textual variants. The other two manuscripts related to this group in their textual variants are **V** and **R**; in their melodic content, however, the situation is very different. With the exception of one song, 'Quant li tans pert sa chalour', the melodies for the other Dargies songs they transmit are totally different from the melodies found for the same poetic texts either in the **KNPX** group or, for that matter, in any other manuscript. While the unique melodies of **R** and **V** are not related to each other, they do, however, share certain general stylistic features: in the case of the Dargies chansons, both of these manuscripts present simple syllabic melodies in contrast to the complex melismatic ones found in the other sources.

With regard to the second manuscript group, identified on the basis of similar textual variants, **M**, **T**, **A**, **a**, here again the melodic variants feature one marked contrast: while the manuscripts **M**, **T**, and **a** are related melodically, **A** presents totally divergent melodies for all except one chanson, again, 'Quant li tans'. Just as with **R** and **V**, the melodies which **A** presents for the other Dargies chansons are predominantly syllabic. Because of certain similarities in the divergent nature of the melodic material in these three manuscripts, their unique melodies will not be considered here but will be discussed separately in Chapter 5 below.

U, which in its textual variants forms a separate group with **C** and **I**, exhibits, in most instances, a relationship with **M** and **T** in its melodic content. It is difficult to make any judgement of the place of **Z** in the manuscript transmission of Dargies's songs since it contains only one of the *chansons*, 'Une chose'. This chanson also occurs in **M** and **T**, and, of the three melodic readings, **M** and **Z** would appear to be the more closely related, **T** presenting a slightly more divergent melody. However, as with the textual variants, individual chansons can transgress these overall patterns of manuscript relationships. In 'Quant la

¹³ The generally very slight variants in the melodies of **N**, **P**, or **X** from the **K** reading are listed in full in the critical commentary to van der Werf's edition (MMMA, vol. II). In the context of the present discussion, it is interesting to note that despite the overwhelming uniformity of the **KNPX** readings, there is not a single Dargies song in which all four melodic readings in this closely knit group are identical in every respect.

saisons', for instance, although the **M** and **T** readings resemble each other in the *frons*, in the *cauda* **T** is closer to the **KNPX** reading.

In a few instances, the divergence between textual and musical grouping of manuscripts arises, somewhat artificially, as a result of the addition by later scribes of divergent melodies on staves left empty by the earlier scribes. In the transmitted Dargies songs, there are three instances of this, and all occur in **M**. In 'Chançon ferai', for instance, the manuscripts can be divided into two groups on the basis of textual variants, **KNPX**, and **M / T** (**A**, **a**);¹⁴ musically, however, the manuscripts realign and divide into three distinct groups as follows: **KNPX / T**, **a**; **A**; **M**; (see Ex. 4.1).¹⁵

Melodic Variants in Dargies's Chansons

It should be noted that apart from the three late melodies in **M**, and the unique melodies in the few Dargies chansons transmitted in **A**, **R**, and **V**, it is otherwise possible in most instances to identify a shared 'basic melody' in the different manuscript readings for each chanson, just as in the transmitted Bastard chansons. Because the manuscript tradition for the Dargies chansons is quite extensive, involving up to thirteen sources in which both music and text are transmitted, as compared with the Bastard chansons that survive mainly in only two sources, the possibility of variants arising in the course of the written transmission is undoubtedly greater. Some 'variants' can arise, for instance, as a result of a melody being notated at different pitches in different manuscript readings; in view of the considerable number of manuscripts involved, however, such instances are surprisingly few in the transmitted Dargies corpus, and generally involve a melody being notated a fourth or fifth up or down.¹⁶ There are only two instances of a transposition of a second, one of which is the **V** reading for 'Quant li tans', and the other to be found in 'Autres que'. In both instances this gives rise to 'variants' affecting the tonal/modal character of the melody. That some confusion may have arisen in the course of the written

¹⁴ Dargies, *Poesie*, ed. Raugé, 208. As represented here, different manuscript groups are separated by a semicolon, and, within each group, / is used to indicate sub-groupings, and () to indicated further sub-groupings.

¹⁵ The two other songs for which **M** has melodies added in a later hand are 'Je ne me doi' and 'Se j'ai esté'. In the latter chanson, discussed in Ch. 2, the 'late' melody in **M** is divergent from the formulations in the other sources. The former chanson occurs in one source only.

¹⁶ The individual melodic readings vary in the pitch from that used in the majority of the sources as follows: 'En icel tanz', a fourth higher in **U**; 'Maintes foiz', a fourth higher in **U** and **T**; 'Ainc mais ne fis', a fourth lower in **T**; 'Une chose', a fifth lower in **T**; 'La gens dient', a fifth higher in **M**; 'Desque ci ai', a fifth higher in **KNPX**; 'Quant li tans', a fifth higher in **R**; and the dubious chanson 'Se j'ai esté', a fifth higher in **KNPX** and **L**.

transmission of 'Autres que' is suggested by the variation between the K, T, and M readings in lines 7–11, where all three readings present almost exactly the same melodic shapes and configurations but with some passages occurring at different pitch levels, notably in the T reading. It is possible that the scribe of T may have been working from two exemplars in which the melody was notated at different pitches.¹⁷

A similar type of pitch variation over a number of syllables which may have arisen in the course of the written transmission is also found in 'Desque ci ai' (Ex. 4.3), another song in which the K(NPX) reading is notated at a different pitch than the other manuscripts, in this instance, a fifth higher: the passages in question are the pitch variant in the K reading for line 4 and line 6.2–7, as well as that in the a reading at lines 7.5–8.6. It should be pointed out, however, that in other instances where one of the readings is notated at a pitch a fifth or a fourth above or below the others, the character of the melody is preserved by appropriate inflectional alterations to accommodate the melody at that pitch, as, for instance, in 'En icel tanz'. For the most part, however, the multiple versions for Dargies's chansons are notated at the same pitch.¹⁸

In general, the melodic variants of the basic melody for each Dargies chanson are similar in nature to those observed in the chansons of Audefroï le Bastard, although the more extensive transmission of Dargies songs offers a somewhat broader palette. Between the a, K, and T readings in Ex. 4.1 local variation occurs in initial, mid-line, and line-end contexts. For instance, at 1.6 and 3.6 there is local variation involving the substitution of standard 'formulaic' closing figures; there is slight variation in the ornamental configurations at 2.2 and 2.6, and local pitch variation in a mid-line context at 2.5, at line beginning at 5.1, and at lines ending at 2.7 and 6.8. Larger-scale variation involving the neumes accompanying several successive syllables can be observed in the second half of the song: this can involve standard procedures of adding passing notes or of repeating notes, as at 6.5–8, or the positioning of high and low points of the melody at different places in the line as in 5.4–8.

¹⁷ The fact that there is noticeably more variation (which is detailed in the critical commentary to van der Werf's edition) in the K, N, P, and X readings for this song than is normally encountered in this very closely related group of manuscripts, and that that variation should, significantly, involve a greater than usual incidence of variation regarding the application or omission of inflection signs, suggests that some of the scribes within this group may already have been dissatisfied with the melody notated at this pitch.

¹⁸ Virtually all of the songs are notated in the different manuscripts using a C clef, which is transferred to different lines of the stave to accommodate different pitch registers. T, however, which is unusual in having a five-line stave, shows a preference for notating melodies using an F clef, but because of the extra flexibility afforded by a five-line stave, still notates most of the songs at the same pitch as they occur in other manuscripts: five of the Dargies chansons are notated using an F clef and two others are notated using a combination of F and C clefs. The only other instances of the use of F clefs are in the manuscripts R and A, in each of which two melodies are notated using an F clef, and in one of the melodies added by a later scribe in M.

The type of larger-scale variation found in line 7 of Ex. 4.1, where all three readings (a, K, and T) have basically the same shape and pitches but with slight variations over the whole line (arising from a varied distribution of pitches and a varied inclusion of repeated, passing, and neighbouring notes) also occurs frequently in other Dargies works, as, for instance, in 'Ainc mais ne fis' (Ex. 4.2) and in 'Desque ci ai' (Ex. 4.3). In 'Ainc mais ne fis' the most divergent variation between the M and T readings occurs in line 6. Both readings begin with the same ascending three-note ligature and have a similar (if varied in standard ways) descending melodic figure in the last two neumes of the line (although the final pitch of the line is a second apart in both manuscripts—a reasonably common variation). However, the melodic movement and shape in the intervening neumes on syllables 2–9 (particularly in 6.5–7) are very different: M has a descending leap of a third followed by an ascending leap of a fifth, and T, by contrast, has an ascending leap of a third which is quitted by step. Despite this variation, however, both formulations remain within the same pitch range. Furthermore, in most of the variants in the melodic readings in T and M the shape and movement of the base melody is retained, although the highest and lowest points of melodic curves may not always occur at exactly the same point in both manuscripts, as, for instance, in lines 1 and 3. Despite the fact that the melodic readings in M and T are clearly closely related, the instances where the two readings have exactly the same neumes are far outnumbered by instances where the neumes on individual syllables have slight variations. Similarly, in 'Desque ci ai', which survives with music in five slightly different readings (KNPX, M, T, U, and a), no two formulations are exactly the same in any individual line (see Ex. 4.3). For the most part, however, the variants in the different readings involve characteristic procedures of local and larger-scale variation, and certain types of more divergent variation (as in T 4.1–5) that bespeak a performance art that relied on memory for transmission and in which processes of *variatio* played a central role.

One variation procedure, already observed in the transmitted Bastard chansons but consolidated in the more substantial transmitted Dargies corpus, is the admittance of pitch variation at line end. In Ex. 4.3, for instance, pitch variation occurs at the end of lines 3, 4, 5, 7, and even in the final line (line 8); likewise, pitch variation at line ends occurs in lines 2, 4, and 6 of Ex. 4.1. Apart from those individual instances discussed above, which may have arisen in the course of the written transmission, and omitting the more extraordinary individual variations (such as that in the K(NPX) reading at line 4 in Ex. 4.1. which will be discussed below), most of these pitch variations at line end involve a pitch variation of a second. The high instance of such pitch variation of a second on the last neume of individual lines would suggest that they cannot all be attributed to scribal

error, but rather that this type of variation was an accepted part of the performance art.¹⁹

For the most part, the melodic variants within the central manuscript transmission of Dargies songs (KNPX, L, Z, M, T, a, and U, i.e. all the sources excluding A, R, V and the late additions in M) retain the distinctive identity of the melody by observing a number of constants: the range of individual lines, important pitch centres, melodic shape, and movement. There is one instance within the central manuscript transmission, however, where melodic variation is more extensive and the constants referred to above are not observed, namely, 'La gens dient'.²⁰ The result of this is that while the readings in the four manuscripts M, T, U, and a have some resemblances, effectively each source presents a quite distinct melody. Interestingly, in the first strophe of this chanson the author refers to the fact that people complain that his songs are difficult to remember.

Structure and Form in Dargies's Chansons

The skill and mastery of Dargies's lyric art is exemplified, in the first instance, not only by the remarkable variety of structures used in his chansons, but also by a tendency to select more elaborate and complex structures. In the twenty chansons there are seventeen different strophic structures, five of which are not found elsewhere in the Old French and Occitan lyric repertoires.²¹ Eleven of the chansons are heterometric in structure and nine isometric;²² there are no refrain forms. There is also great variety in the organization of the strophes (*coblas unissonans* (11), *coblas unissonans capcaudadas* (1), *coblas retrogradadas* (1), *coblas doblas* (4), *coblas doblas capcaudadas* (3), *coblas singolars* (2), a combination of *coblas ternas* and *coblas doblas* (1), and, finally, a combination of *coblas ternas capcaudadas* and *coblas doblas capcaudadas* (1)), as well as in the combination of rhymes, and in the number of lines in the strophes. Table 4.3 lists the metrical structure and the large-scale musical repetition of all the Dargies chansons.²³

¹⁹ In 'En icel tanz', for instance, preserved in three quite uniform readings, one or other of the manuscripts has a pitch variation in eight out of the nine lines (including the final line) of this chanson, and, with the exception of line 7, where the pitch variation involves the interval of a third, all of the other instances involve a pitch variation of a second.

²⁰ A translation of Strophe 1 of this song is given below in the section on Style and Rhetoric in Dargies's chansons.

²¹ These are listed by Raugé (Dargies, *Poesie*, 45–6).

²² This proportion of heterometric to isometric structures is in marked contrast to that found in the works of other trouvères: in the transmitted chansons of two other early generation trouvères, Gace Brulé and Blondel de Nesle, for instance, the balance is approximately three to one in favour of isometric structures. Of Dargies's nine isometric chansons, six are decasyllabic and three heptasyllabic.

²³ The numbering of the chansons in this table follows that of Raugé's edition. The gap in the sequence before the three dubious chansons arises because Dargies's other lyric works (*descorts* and *jeux-partis*) are not being considered here.

TABLE 4.3. *Metrical and musical structure in the chansons of Gautier de Dargies*

I. Au commencer	a' b a' b; b a' a' 10+ 10, 10+, 10; 10 10+ 10+. no music
II. La gens dient	a b b a a b b a a 10 10, 10, 10 10; 10 10; 10 10. a b c d e f g h i
III. Autres que	a b a b a b a a b a b 7 7, 7 7 7: 7; 7; 7: 7, 7, 7. KNPX M a b a b c d c' e f a' d' T a b a b c d e f g h i
IV. Desque ci ai	a b b a b a b b 8 10, 4 8, 10; 10, 10, 10. a b c d e f g h
V. Maintes foiz	a b a b a a b a b b a a 8 8 8 2; 10 4 8, 4 4 8 10. a b a' c d d' a' b' a' e f g
VI. He! Diex	a a b' a a b' b' a a b' b' 10 6 6+, 10 6 6+ 10+; 10, 10, 10+ 10+. (4, +6;) a b +c a b +c d d' a' d' d'
VII. Or <i>chant</i> nouvel	a b' a b' a a b' 8 7+, 8 7+ 8, 8 7+ (4,+4) a b a b c d e
VIII. Bien me quidai de chanter	a b a b a b a b a a a b a a a b a a b 7 4, 7 4 7, 4; 7 4. 4, 4; (2,+2,) 4 4 4, 4, 4, 4; 4 4; 8! a b c d a b c d e f g h i j k l m n c'
IX. Ainc mais ne fis	a' b a' b b a' b b 10+ 10 10+, 10 10 10+: 10, 10. a b c d e f g h
X. Je ne me doi	a b a b b a a 10 10, 10 10, 10 10; 10. a b a' c c d e
XI. Chançon ferai	a b b a a b b 7 7; 7, 4 8, 8 10. a b c d e f g
XII. Quant la saisons	a' b a' b b a' b a' b 7+ 8, 7+ 8, 8 8+ 8 7+ 8. (2,+6) (3,+4) KNPX a b a b c d c d' e T a b a' a' c a' c d e M a b a' a' c d e f g

TABLE 4.3. (cont.)

XIII. Une chose	a' b b a' b a' b b b 10+ 10, 10, 10+; 4 10+, 4 10, 10. (4,+6.) a b c d e d ¹ e ¹ f g
XIV. Humilitez et franchise	a' b a' b b a' a' b b 7+, 7 7+, 7 7 7+; 7+ 7 7. a b a b c d e f g
XV. En grant aventure ai mise	a' b a' b b a' b a' b b a' 7+ 7, 7+, 7 7; 7+ 7 7+ 7! 7, 7+ no music
XVI. Quant li tans	a b' a b' a a b' b' 7, 7+, 7 7+ 7, 7; 10+, 10+. (2,+2,+6.) (4,+6.) a b a b c d e f
XVII. En icel tanz	a b' a b' b' a a b' b' 10, 10+ 10 10+ 10+, 10 10 10+; 10+. (7,+3) (4,+6) (2,+2+6) (4,+6.) a b a b b ¹ a ¹ c b ² d
DUBIOUS CHANSONS	
XXIII. Se j'ai esté	a b' a b' b' a a b' b' 10 10+, 10 10+; 10+: 10 10; 10+, 10? a b a b c d d ¹ a ¹ e
XXIV. Au tens gent	a' b a' b a' a' b a' b 7+ 7, 7+ 7, 7+, 7+ 3 7+ 3. a b a b c d e f g
XV. Quant il ne pert	a b' a b' b' a a b' b' a 8 7+, 8, 7+; 7+ 8, 8 7+; 7+ 7! a b a b c a ¹ a ² d c ¹ a ³

KEY TO TABLE. The top line of each entry gives the rhyming structure of the text, with primes (e.g. a') used to indicate feminine rhymes; the second line is the syllable count, with a + after a number indicating the 'extra' unaccented syllable of the feminine rhyme; the bottom line provides an analysis of the musical structure. Punctuation marks in the second line are included to show the syntax of the text.

From the table it can be seen that although so-called *chanson* or 'bar' form (AAB) features, it does not always appear in its most conventional guises, nor is it the only form used. While all three of the dubious chansons have this basic form, it is by no means the predominant form among the other fifteen chansons transmitted with music that are more reliably attributed to Dargies. Indeed it is found in only five of these chansons (III, VII, XIV, XVI, and XVII) and in only the **KNPX** reading of another (XII). In three other chansons (V, IX, and X), which have a four-line *frons* with an abab rhyme, a melodic setting *abab* is not used. Admittedly in the first instance, 'Maintes fois' (V), the heterometric structure of the *frons* (8882) obviously precluded an exact melodic repetition in the second *pes* of the *frons*; there

is some large-scale repetition, since the melody of line 1(*a*) is repeated in line 3. In 'Je ne me doi' (X), which has an isometric *frons*, the *a* strain is repeated, but not the *b* strain (however, it must be noted that the only source for this melody is one of those entered in a later hand in M). And in 'Ainc mais ne fis' (IX) the rhyme scheme abab is used without any large-scale melodic repetition in the *frons*. Since this is the only example in Dargies's chansons of a strophe with the conventional simple structure of an entirely decasyllabic, eight-line strophe, the lack of any large-scale melodic repetition in either *frons* or *cauda* was no doubt intended to offset the regularity of the metrical structure.

Apart from 'Ainc mais ne fis' an *abcd* melodic structure in the *frons* of Dargies's songs (as in the songs of other trouvères) occurs in connection with the rhyme scheme abba. This rhyme scheme is used in four chansons, 'La gens dient' (II), 'Desque ci ai' (IV), 'Chançon ferai' (XI), and 'Une chose' (XIII), all of which have the melodic structure *abcd*.

Dargies also uses structures in which he departs from the standard *frons* structure consisting of four lines. The *frons* of 'He Diex' (VI), for example, is made up of two tripartite *pedes* with the rhyme scheme aabaab, which is matched in the music by the structure *abcabc*, and the *frons* of 'Bien me quidai' (VIII) is composed of four two-line metrical units; the melody of the *frons*, however, is organized into two *pedes*: *abcdabcd*.

While one of the conventional *cauda* structures, as for instance, in 'Au tens gent' (XXIV), involves the use of different melodic material from the *frons*, and no large-scale melodic repetition, more than two-thirds of Dargies's songs feature some large-scale repetition in the *cauda*. This may involve the repetition of a melodic strain from the *frons* (as in 'En icel tanz' (XVII), from within the *cauda* 'He Diex' (VI)), or both (as in 'He Diex' and 'Une chose' (XIII)). 'He Diex' has an overall heterometric structure but within that structure, it is only the *frons* which is heterometric (10 6 6+ 10 6 6+) with the rhyme scheme aabaab; the *cauda* is isometric, having five decasyllabic lines with the rhyme scheme baabb. In this song, the perfect symmetry of the metrical and musical structure of the *frons* is balanced by an equally symmetrical musical structure in the *cauda*: most of the musical material for the *cauda* is based on the new musical strain *d* introduced in the first line of the *cauda* (line 7). The second, fourth, and fifth lines of the *cauda* (lines 8, 10, and 11) repeat this *d* strain with slight variations. But in the third line of the *cauda* (line 9) the music of the *a* strain from the *frons* is repeated (with slight variation). This line then acts as the centre point or axis of the musical structure of the *cauda*, having on either side two statements of the *d* strain.

Large-scale repetition is, however, but one facet of melodic structure in Dargies's sophisticated melodic style. In all of his chansons, whether they feature the repetition of whole melodic phrases or not, short melodic cells are repeated

throughout, providing a element of unity and imbuing the song with a distinctive identity as, for instance, in the use of a repeated opening figure.

Metre, Melody, and Syntax

In every *trouvère* chanson three fundamental structures are operating simultaneously: the metrical structure (based on syllable count and rhyme), the syntactic structure of the text, and the musical structure. The metrical structures of Dargies's chansons for the most part observe the conventional bipartite division of the strophe into *frons* and *cauda*. The *frons* is generally made up of four lines and the *cauda* may have as few as three lines (Song VII, for instance) and as many as eleven (Song VIII), but, most commonly, five. However, only in about half of Dargies's chansons does the syntactic structure of the text observe this overall bipartite structure. Table 4.3 includes punctuation marks to indicate the main syntactic divisions in the text,²⁴ and it can be observed that in many instances (as in 'Autres que' (III) or 'Or chant nouvel' (VII), for instance) the syntax of the text does not observe the *frons/cauda* divide but operates across it. In this regard we can see that a 'counterpoint' is set up between the different structures operating simultaneously.

The sophistication and dexterity of Dargies's manipulation of metrical, musical, and syntactic structures is well illustrated by the heterometric chansons, which present particular challenges. In 'He Diex' (Ex. 4.4), for instance, the regular tripartite metrical structure of each *pes* of the *frons* (10 6 6+ 10 6 6+) is offset by a bipartite musical structure (*a b+c a b+c*), with the first melodic phrase ending at the end of line 1 (and line 4 in the second *pes*) on *b*, and the second melodic phrase concluding at the end of line 3 (and line 6) on *c'*. The musical phrasing 1+2 in each *pes* is not only apparent in the slightly different formulations in K and M, but is actually underlined by aspects of the variants. The beginning of the second sub-phrase is articulated by a leap of a third between the end of line 1 and the beginning of line 2, which is common to both readings. The melodic continuity between lines 2 and 3, on the other hand, is apparent, notwithstanding the slightly different formulations of the K and M readings in these lines. The manuscripts have different end-of-line pitches in line 2, but in each case they proceed by step to the pitch at the beginning of the subsequent lines. Both manuscripts share the same material, albeit with standard variations: between 2.6 and 3.2 both manuscripts have a stepwise descent from *c'* to *g*, but while K has the notes *cb* at the end of line 2, followed by *a* and *g* on the

²⁴ These largely follow Raugé's edition, the base manuscript for which is M.

first two syllables of line 3, **M** has the single note *c'* on the final syllable of line 2, followed by the *b* on the first syllable of line 3, and on the second syllable of that line, the descent to *g* via a repetition of the *b* and the passing note *a*. (Similarly, the beginning of line 2 has the same material in both manuscripts but with a slightly different formulation in each.) In the parallel passage at line 5, **M** has exactly the same formulation as line 2 but the **K** version is slightly different, since it elides 'joie et' and thus has one syllable less. Nevertheless it uses the same material as line 2 but modifies it slightly: the *d'* (of 2.4) is repeated at 5.5 and the descent from *c'* to *g* (begun on the final neume of line 2) is not effected until the first three syllables of line 6. These variations would strongly suggest that the melodic material for both lines 2–3 and 5–6 was regarded as a single unit, operating in 'counterpoint' to the metrical structure. The syntactic structure in turn adds yet another 'contrapuntal' line. In strophes I, III, and IV (see Ex. 4.4), the larger syntactic division in the strophe is at the end of line 7, and not at the point corresponding to the end of the *frons* (at the end of line 6); only in the second strophe does the principal syntactic division occur at the end of line 6. Furthermore, in strophe I there is an enjambement in lines 6–7. Thus, the counterpoint between the metrical and musical structure of the *frons* is compounded by the syntactic structure of the text.

There is a further interesting variant in the *cauda* of this same song that may also have implications for melodic phrasing and for the relationship between melodic, syntactic, and metrical structures. While there is a clear metrical and syntactic break between lines 8 and 9, the melodic structure would seem to move across this break. The **K(NPX)** reading at the end of line 8 has a rather unusual variant on the last neume involving a leap of a fourth from *d'* to *g'* between the last two notes of the neume. However, *g'* is the pitch on which the following line (line 9) begins. In other contexts variants involving the anticipation of a pitch in the preceding neume is quite common, but such 'anticipatory' notes are almost invariably approached by step. In this instance, it would appear to represent a performance that, despite the syntactic break at the end of line 8, emphasizes melodic continuity between lines 8 and 9. Certainly, the arched shape of the melody over these two lines could be construed as a unit, beginning on *g* in line 8, ascending through a ninth to *a'* on the second syllable of line 9, and thereafter resolving downwards to *g*. The *a'* on the second syllable of line 9 is the highest pitch of the melody, and it is logical that the momentum, built up in the ascent from the *g* at the beginning of the preceding line, should be continued over the line to the high point on the second syllable of line 9. This interpretation clearly relates also to performance rhetoric, a question to which I shall return below, but which, as this example suggests, cannot be separated totally from a discussion of 'compositional' structure. Unless one is to regard the **KNPX** variant on the last

neume of line 8 as a scribal aberration, it must unavoidably be viewed as an indicator of the musical phrasing in performance. It would make little sense to treat the *g'* in the **KNPX** reading as an end note on which, in correspondence with the metrical and syntactic structure of the text, one should pause; on the other hand, it makes perfect sense (if a rather striking melodic gesture) if one treats the *g'* as an anticipation of, and link to, the following line, which should follow on immediately.

One might more readily view this variant as a scribal error if precisely the same type of variant did not also occur in 'Chançon ferai' (see Ex. 4.1). At the end of line 4, the **K(NPX)** melody has a dramatic leap of a sixth, from a *g* at the end of the penultimate neume to an *e'* on the last neume of the line. Here again the immediately ensuing line in the **KNPX** formulation begins at the same pitch, *e'*. Unlike the example in 'He Diex', where the melodic phrasing was in counterpoint to the metrical and syntactical structure of the text, in this instance the run-on implicit in the melody corresponds to the syntactic structure of the text,²⁵ not only in this stanza, but in all subsequent stanzas (see the full text of Ex. 4.1). 'Chançon ferai' (Ex. 4.1) and 'Maintes foiz' (Ex. 4.6) are the only two chansons with an 'irregular' heterometric *frons*. In both, a single shorter line, occurring as the last line of the *frons* (in 'Chançon ferai', 7 7 7 4 and in 'Maintes foiz', 8 8 8 2) is incorporated into a larger musical phrase: in 'Maintes foiz' the two-syllable line is joined to the preceding eight-syllable line in the musical phrasing (see below), and in 'Chançon ferai' the short four-syllable line runs on to the following line (line 5), thereby forming a counterpoint to the metrical line divisions or crossing the *frons/cauda* divide.

Style and Rhetoric of Dargies's Chansons

Perhaps there is no better point of departure for a discussion of style and rhetoric in Dargies's chansons than with a comment by the trouvère himself:

La gens dient pour coi je ne faiz chanz
 Pluz legiers et meilleurs a retenir,
 Maiz ne sevent qu'Amours me fait sentir,
 Quar de celui u l'amours est pluz granz
 Convient mouvoir les chanz fors et pesans;
 Qui mainz aime de lui convient issir
 Les febles chanz que chascuns puet furnir;

²⁵ It is also striking in this regard that in the **K** reading, reproduced in Pl. 10, there is a vertical stroke on the staff just after the two neumes over the text 'li mons' towards the end of the fourth system. The **A** formulation at this point is discussed in Ch. 5.

Qui ne le set demant le as fins amans
S'Amours est si vertueuse et poissanz. (Song II, R/S 264)

People ask why I do not make songs
which are lighter and easier to remember,
But they do not know what Love makes me feel,
Since for him whose Love is of the greatest kind
it is appropriate to create strong and heavy songs;
He who loves less, from him it is appropriate that there should issue forth
the feeble songs which everyone can furnish;
Anyone who does not know this should ask the *fins amans*
if Love is not so virtuous and weighty.

In this opening strophe of 'La gens dient' (Song II) Dargies clearly states his own position: he denigrates the more popular 'feeble', 'lighter style' songs which are composed by those who do not adhere to the lofty values of *fine amour*, and he makes no apology for his own 'heavier' and 'more weighty' style. On the contrary, he affirms that the nobility of his subject and the sincerity of his feelings can only be adequately expressed in 'chanz fors et pesans'. In this he introduces the concept of *convenientia* which the Middle Ages inherited from the ancient rhetoricians (and which Dante elucidates with reference to courtly lyric in *De vulgari eloquentia*).²⁶ Furthermore, in this extract Dargies identifies himself as an heir to the highly refined and sophisticated courtly song tradition, practised in the 'closed' aristocratic society of his Occitanian forebears. The debt to Occitan lyric is apparent in the manifold intertextual references to works by various troubadours throughout Dargies's extant canon of works. These references have been assiduously documented in Rauegi's excellent edition of

²⁶ The theory of *convenientia* advocated an intimate accord between the nature of the argument, the diction used to express it, and the quality of the listeners. Book II of Dante's *De vulgari eloquentia* is devoted principally to a discussion of the most excellent of genres, the *cantio* (*canço* or *chanson*), but the main body of this discussion is preceded by an introductory discourse on theories of *convenientia* (Ch. 1). Dante identifies the mode of expression most appropriate to the high-style *cantio* as a *stilus tragicus*: 'Stilo equidem tragico tunc uti videmur quando cum gravitate sententie tam superbia carminum quam constructionis elatio et excellentia vocabulorum concordat [We use the 'tragic style' when profundity of sentiment combines with splendour of verse, elevation of construction, and excellence of vocabulary]' (*De vulgari*, II. iv. 7). See Dante, *De vulgari eloquentia*, ed. Marigo, 192–4.

The distinction which Dargies draws between a lighter 'feeble' style and a more weighty one may also be seen to mirror to some degree the distinction drawn not only by Dante but by other medieval rhetoricians (see also e.g. Vinsauf's *Poetria nova*, and Matthew of Vendôme's *Ars versificatoria*, or the earlier seminal work *Rhetorica ad Herennium*) between a *stylus gravis* (or *ornatus difficilis*) and a *stylus levis* (or *ornatus facilis*). (See E. Faral, *Les Ars poétiques du XI^e et du XIII^e siècles* (Paris, 1968), 89–98.) Dargies's distinction between 'heavy' and 'lighter' styles may also echo the distinction, albeit of a more specific nature, in the parent *canço* tradition between a lighter (*trobar leu*) and a more dense (*trobar clus*) style. See U. Mölk, *Trobar Clus—Trobar Leu: Studien zur Dichtungstheorie der Troubadours* (Munich, 1968), 177–99; N. Smith, *Figures of Repetition in the Old Provençal Lyric: A Study in the Style of the Troubadours* (Chapel Hill, NC, 1976), 40; and see also L. Paterson, *Troubadours and Eloquence* (Oxford, 1975).

Dargies's poetic texts, both in the introductory study and in the copious notes to each individual song.²⁷ In her discussion of semantic, syntactic, and phonic aspects of Dargies's poetic style and rhetoric, Raugéi reveals that he is not merely a master of convention but is also an innovator. One aspect highlighted in particular by Raugéi is the poetic *variatio* in his songs, achieved by an extensive and dexterous manipulation of a combination of procedures such as antithesis, *amplificatio*, anaphora, and parallelism.²⁸ In this mastery of the art of *variatio*, Dargies had mastered the fundamental technique of poetic development as expounded by medieval rhetoricians. Although no extensive theoretical literature on musical rhetoric survives, it will be clear that many of the stylistic and rhetorical features of the art of poetic development are mirrored in Dargies's musical style and rhetoric.

Two of the most striking features of Dargies's melodic style are its expansiveness and melismatic character. Each of his chansons has one or both of these qualities. In 'He Diex' (Ex. 4.4), for instance, the range of an octave is common within individual lines. Likewise, in 'Ainc mais ne fis' (Ex. 4.2), the melody effortlessly spans the range of a seventh, octave, or ninth not only within individual lines, but within the space of four or five syllables or half of a poetic line (e.g. 1.6–10, 3.6–10). Whereas in 'He Diex' the setting might perhaps most accurately be described, in the terminology of chant scholarship, as neumatic (with predominantly two-, occasionally three-, and only rarely four-note groups on individual syllables), the melodic setting of 'Ainc mais ne fis' (with frequent four-note groups, occasional five-, and even six-note groups) can be described as melismatic.²⁹ Even in chansons surviving in several sources, such as 'Desque ci ai' (Ex. 4.3), the melismatic character of the melody is preserved in all eight sources: four- and five-note neumes occur in this song, but the overall melismatic character is a product not only of large note groups on individual syllables, but of the cumulative effect of successive two-, three- (and occasional four- or five-note) groups. 'Chançon ferai' (Ex. 4.1) is another example of the melismatic type, with four-, five-, six-, and even seven-note groups. To compare any of these songs with the melody of 'Au tens gent', one of the three dubious songs attributed to Dargies (see Ex. 4.5), reveals a stark contrast: apart from other stylistic differences, the total absence of either melodic expansiveness or

²⁷ Among the troubadours to whose works intertextual references are made in Dargies's chansons are the following: Arnaut Daniel, Bernart de Ventadorn, Peire Vidal, Raimbaut d'Aurenga, and Gaucelm Faidit. See Dargies, *Poesie*, ed. Raugéi, 98 for a discussion of these intertextual references to Occitan works.

²⁸ Ibid. 57–96.

²⁹ In comparison with *melismata* in chant repertoires, these melodies are, of course, not strictly melismatic. However, the term is used more loosely here to describe a relatively more melismatic style in the Dargies melodies than is found elsewhere in the trouvère repertoire.

neumatic (let alone melismatic) setting make this very uncharacteristic of Dargies's melodic style. It would seem therefore that musical evidence would support Raugéi's suspicion (based on a study of the poetic text) that of the three dubious songs, this one is indeed the least likely to be by Dargies.³⁰

The melodic discourse

In the context of an entire song, the melody provides a structural unity, in the recycling of (presumably) more or less the same musical material with the new text of each strophe. Within the unit of the strophe, however, there is generally a linear development from beginning to end, rather than a circular motion (as in da capo structures, for instance). The musical discourse within the unit of the stanza involves the opposition of contrasting pitch registers, pitch centres, melodic range, shape, and movement, and in any one stanza structure a number of such oppositions may occur simultaneously but operating at different levels: at a larger level there is a build-up of tension to a point of climax (often involving a higher tessitura) in the melody and a subsequent release of tension or resolution, but generally not back to the point of departure. One manifestation of the linear melodic development of the strophe is the fact that most of the chansons end on a different pitch than that on which they began. Table 4.4 lists those chansons that have in one reading the same beginning and end notes

TABLE 4.4. Variation of initial and final notes in Dargies's chansons

Chanson	Readings with same initial and final pitches	Most common opening and closing pitches in other readings
I. La gens dient	M: c–c	various–d
IV. Desque ci ai	T: a–a	a–f
V. Maintes foiz	A: d'–d'	g–c
VIII. Bien me quidai	M: g–g	g– <i>incomplete</i> (T)
X. Je ne me doi	M: d–d	—
XII. Quant la saisons	KNPX: d–d	a– <i>various</i>
XIV. Humilitez	T, M: g–g	various–g
XVII. En icel tanz	U, M: c'–c	—
XXIII. Se j'ai esté*	M: d–d	various
XXIV. Au tens gens*	KNX: g–g	—

³⁰ In any case, this chanson is preserved only in K, N, and P, and only in K is it attributed to Dargies: in the other two manuscripts of this close-knit group it is attributed to Gautier de Soignies. For a consideration of its 'authenticity' on poetic grounds, see Raugéi in Dargies, *Poesie*, 366–7.

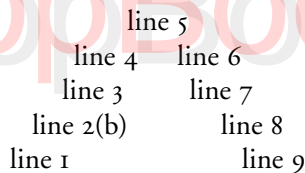
(column 2), but, significantly, other readings of the same chansons have different beginning and end notes (column 3).

From the totality of melodic readings for the entire canon of Dargies's chansons, only twelve readings, or, seventeen, if one counts the uniform readings of the **KNPX** group individually, out of a total of some ninety readings, begin and end on the same pitch. This number is substantially reduced, however, if one considers that three of the readings are found outside the main Dargies manuscript transmission (the **M** melodies of Song X and the dubious Song XXIII are melodies added to that manuscript by a later scribe, and the **A** reading of Song V is, of course, one of the unique melodies presented by that manuscript which bears no resemblance to the 'base' melody of the central transmission for that song), and three others of the readings with the same initial and final pitch are found in the uniform **K**, **P**, and **X** readings of the chanson 'Au tens gens' (Song XXIV). It should be noted that in the transmitted canon of Dargies's chansons the most common relationship between the first and last pitches is where the final note is a fifth below the opening pitch of the song.

The musical discourse of 'Maintes foiz' (Ex. 4.6) provides a classic example of a dialogue of opposing pitch registers and pitch centres, and further illustrates the organic genesis and development of the melodic discourse. This chanson has a heterometric twelve-line strophe with the following line lengths: 8 8 8 2 10 4 8 4 4 4 8 10. (See also Table 4.3 for details of the rhyme scheme and syntactic structure of the text.) The strophe as a whole is composed of two sections based on the opposition of pitch centres: the first part (lines 1–9) is structured on the pitch centre *a-c'* and, after a transitional line (line 10), the second pitch centre is on *f* (extending upward to *a* and downward to *c*). The material of the second section ultimately derives from material introduced early in the first section that gradually evolves in the course of the development of that section. The exquisitely skillful musical rhetoric and structure of this song merits a close reading. Line 1 introduces the material that forms the core of the entire first section: it opens with a *g* which is followed by a melodic figure outlining a movement from *a* up to *c'* and down to *g* (labelled 'x' in Ex. 4.6). The 'x' material is immediately 'recycled' in a condensed formulation in the opening two syllables of line 2. This is followed by the introduction of a new figure on the third and fourth syllables of the line, involving a stepwise descent from *a* to *c* (labelled 'y' + 'y²'). The second half of line 2 (labelled 2b) prefixes the 'x' figure with an ascending fourth from *d* to *g* (labelled 'w') and the 'x' figure itself is again presented in a condensed formulation, occurring over two syllables as in 2a but with a different distribution of the pitches. Line 3 opens again with the 'x' figure, which in its ascent to *c'* is similar to line 1, but the second part of the figure, the descent from *c'* to *g*, is again in a more condensed form than in line 1. This is followed by a slight

elaboration of the 'y²' figure from line 2a. The music of the two-syllable line 4 functions musically as an extension of line 3: this figure is labelled 'z'.

Line 5 lies exactly at the centre of the first and main musical argument of the strophe (lines 1–9): it also functions as a musical climax, having all the melodic material previously stated in the strophe and even adding further extension of the material: the short 'w' figure at the beginning of line 2b is extended by the addition of an initial *c*, and the 'z' figure, heard first at the end of the previous phrase, where it was enunciated over the text of the poetic line 4, is also extended by the addition of a *c*. This line therefore has a symmetrical movement from an initial *c* rising by step to the octave above, *c'*, which occurs on the fifth syllable, and descending through the octave again back to *c* on the last syllable of the line. Furthermore, the remaining four lines (lines 6–9) of the first argument of this strophe are also symmetrical with the first four lines (lines 1–4): the short four-syllable line 6 is prefixed to the beginning of line 7, thereby balancing the short line 4 which was appended to line 3; the music of line 7 is almost exactly the same as that of line 3, comprising the 'x' figure, followed by the 'y' figure; line 8 is exactly the same as the second half of line 2, i.e. 2b (the material of the first half of line 2 is, however, omitted); and, finally, line 9, like line 1, is composed of the 'x' figure, in a necessarily condensed form in this instance since line 9 has only four syllables, as opposed to the eight-syllable line 1. The almost perfect symmetry of this main argument of the strophe can be represented graphically as follows:



Line 10 can be seen as a line of transition, in which a figure of the same shape as the 'x' figure is stated first one pitch lower (in 10a), and then, via another downward step, the song arrives at the 'counter argument' on the new pitch centre, *f* (labelled 'f(x)' here). Within each of the two arguments of this strophe, lines 1–9 and 10b–12, the core elements, 'x' and 'f(x)' respectively, have an answering or contrasting idea: in both arguments the same idea 'y' + 'z' is used, thereby offsetting the polarity between the two arguments.

Variatio

The skill of Dargies's melodic rhetoric lies not only in a superb marshalling of the musical arguments but also in the subtlety of the *variatio* in details of the 'articulation' of these arguments. Two devices are particularly noteworthy,

namely, the *variatio* in the alternation between melismatic and syllabic 'delivery', and between conjunct and disjunct melodic motion. Each of these devices is used variously to articulate details of the metrical structure, or to highlight a semantic aspect of the text.

The contrast of melismatic and syllabic declamation in 'Maintes foiz' (Ex. 4.6) articulates the metrical structure of the text at different levels. In the latter part of the strophe, for instance (lines 8–12), the individual lines of its heterometric structure are articulated by alternating predominantly melismatic and predominantly syllabic settings: the four-syllable line 8 is set melodically, the four-syllable line 9 is set mostly syllabically, the four-syllable line 10 is set melodically, the eight-syllable line 11 is set mostly syllabically, and the 10-syllable final line (line 12) is set melodically. Earlier in the strophe, in line 5, the two hemistichs of this decasyllabic line are articulated by the contrasting syllabic setting of the first four syllables and the melismatic setting of the second hemistich.

In 'Desque ci ai' (Ex. 4.3) there are similarly contrasted articulations of the first and second hemistichs of decasyllabic lines: in line 6, for instance, the first four syllables are set syllabically and the following six are set melodically. In contrast, the following line (line 7) sets the first four syllables melodically and the following six syllabically, thereby providing an overall neat symmetry in the setting of these two lines. However, in line 7 the textual division of the line is not 4+6 but rather 6+4: this could be interpreted as a deliberate counterpoint between the textual and musical structure of the line; it is also possible that it was intended as a wonderfully apt setting of the word 'retenu' on the first three syllables of this line. In performance the alternation of syllabic and melismatic settings will affect the tempo of the delivery, which is likely to be faster in syllabic passages and at least somewhat slower in melismatic passages, as would be appropriate for the declamation of the word 'retenu' in this instance. In 'Desque ci ai', as in 'Maintes foiz', all of the manuscripts, despite other variants, observe these contrasts of syllabic and melismatic declamation, which suggests that it is a compositional device and not an aspect of the performance art of the genre. The alternation of syllabic and melismatic passages will also have the effect of a contrast between a more 'staccato' or 'detached' style in the former (an inevitable consequence of the articulation of separate syllables on successive pitches), and a more 'legato' style in the latter, which is further borne out by the overwhelming predominance of conjunct motion in these melismatic passages.

The contrast provided by the introduction of disjunct motion in a predominantly conjunct style serves similar functions to the introduction of syllabic passages in a predominantly melismatic style observed above. In the first line of 'Chançon ferai' (Ex. 4.1), for instance, the leap of a fifth between the fourth and

fifth syllables underlines the parataxis of the text, and is possibly also intended to convey the sense of urgency conveyed in the expression 'mout maris'. Likewise, in line 2 of 'Ainc mais ne fis' (Ex. 4.2) a leap of a fourth between the sixth and seventh syllables articulates the division of the line into two hemistichs, and the further disjunct motion in the second hemistich aptly conveys the sense of 'esgaré' in the text. A *locus classicus* of the use of disjunct motion to underline simultaneously aspects of the metrical and semantic structure of the text is found in line 6. The poetic line is articulated in three units:

En tristecë, en mesdit, en envie;

Despite the variant melodic formulations, both melodies articulate these three units, with a local melodic phrase structure of $4+3+3^+$, as well as a larger structure of $4+6^+$, also articulating the metrical division into two hemistichs. The two sub-phrases of the second hemistich beautifully match the syntactic structure of the text (in particular the beginning of the second and third units with 'en...') by articulating them with leaps of a third. Despite the individual formulations in both manuscripts the same effect is achieved. The disjunct character of the melody of the whole of this line, the high tessitura, and particularly the added inflections, can be seen aptly to reflect the disturbed sentiment in the text, as the angry poet reflects on the state of decadence and turmoil all around him ('tout le mont atourné / En tristecë...').³¹

While in some of the preceding examples relationships between the musical discourse and syntactic aspects of the text may be seen to be borne out in the use of a similar syntactic structure at the parallel point in some (and very rarely) all of the subsequent stanzas, in others they are not. The instances cited of a mirroring of semantic aspects of the text in the musical discourse, whether with regard to climax points in the stanza as a whole, or, more particularly, when a relationship concerning an individual word is highlighted, are obviously even less likely to find direct parallels in subsequent stanzas. This does not, however, invalidate these interpretations. In an oral art such as this, which relies so heavily on processes of *variatio*, it is in any case unlikely that the melody of subsequent stanzas would be performed exactly as written for the first stanza: as we see from variant readings of the same basic melody for the given music of the first stanza, it would appear that even this will not have been performed in exactly the same way in any two performances. And just as syntactic structure can vary from stanza to stanza, so too it is highly likely that musical phrasing

³¹ It is noteworthy that in 'Chançon ferai' (Ex. 4.1) a high tessitura is also used in the passage in lines 4–6, where the poet bemoans the decadence of the century, declaring that the world is 'peris', 'veincuz', and 'failliz'.

could also vary, and that details of the melody would be subtly manipulated in idiomatic ways such as those outlined above and in Chapter 2, and which, if we are to take the evidence of the extant multiple variants, also included a flexibility in the application of *ficta*. To look for parallels in subsequent stanzas, or to infer too much from their texts in the interpretation of the melodies of the trouvère chansons is, I think, both highly questionable as a methodology, particularly since the texts of subsequent stanzas are not set out with the melody in the manuscripts, and highly inappropriate in the context of an oral art. In the extant multiple variants for the initial stanzas, we are provided not only with a rich source for the observation of the melodic art of the trouvères, but with invaluable material to examine in detail that which embodies the whole art: the unit of the stanza. The stanza, if we are to believe Dante, is the receptacle of the whole art of a chanson, the subsequent stanzas merely modelling themselves on the art embodied in the preceding one:

Et circa hoc sciendum est quod hoc vocabulum [stantia] per solius artis respectum inventum est, videlicet ut in quo tota cantionis ars esset contenta, illud diceretur stantia, hoc est mansio capax sive receptaculum totius artis. Nam quemadmodum cantio est gremium totius sententie, sic stantia totam artem ingremiat; nec licet aliquid artis sequentibus arrogare, sed solam artem antecedentis induere. Per quod patet quod ipsa de qua loquimur erit congregatio sive compages omnium eorum que cantio sumit ab arte: quibus divaricatis, quam querimus descriptio innotescet. (*De vulgari eloquentia*, II. ix. 2)

Regarding this one must realize that this word [stantia] was invented solely with respect to the art, that is, so that whatever contained the entire art of the *canzone*, that would be called the stanza, a spacious chamber, so to speak, or a receptacle for the whole art. For just as the *canzone* is the bosom for all the thought, so does the stanza embosom the whole art; and it is not permitted to those succeeding to arrogate to themselves any part of the art, but only to dress in the art of the preceding one.³²

Dargies's chansons present a particularly good example for the study of the early trouvère chanson repertoire, not only for their intrinsic merit but also because of their wide dissemination. The impression sometimes given that the incidence of multiple melodic variants forms an impediment to the understanding of melodic style is quite misleading: in the transmitted Dargies chansons all of the widely divergent variants are found in the 'second phase' manuscripts A, R, and V or in the late additions to M, and can therefore be explained by a proper assessment of the multiple layers of the manuscript tradition. Apart from these instances, there is otherwise a remarkable unity (given that the extant sources

³² Translation from Welliver, *Dante in Hell*, 115–17.

post-date by several decades the date of 'composition' of these songs) in the transmitted melodies for Dargies's chansons, whereby a 'base melody' can be identified for each song (the exceptional case of 'La gent dient' apart). While certain variants between readings may be due to scribal error in the written transmission, most of the melodic variants would appear to be due to the fundamental process of renewal or re-creation at the heart of the ethos of the high-style chanson. The similarity in the nature of the melodic variants in Dargies's songs with those observed in the transmitted Bastard chansons, and the observance in both of the same constants, point to some of the parameters of the melodic art of the early trouvère style and underline the central role of orality in that art. This is not to suggest that Dargies's melodies, while observing the parameters of the style, are in any way conventional. Just as with the texts, which exhibit an individuality in style and an elaborate, varied, and indeed virtuosic poetic technique, so too Dargies's melodic style has an individual stamp in the use of expansive, melismatic melodies, and in the sophisticatedly structured and elaborate musical discourse. Above all, however, his lyric style is characterized by a subtle and varied relationship between music and text.

Dargies's output marks a crucial link in the lyric tradition of the troubadours and trouvères. A first-generation trouvère, Dargies does not merely continue the old high-style tradition of the troubadours: his mastery of traditional techniques in the art form is also innovatory and individual, and makes a very substantial contribution to that tradition. Trouvère art was to develop in a number of different ways in the course of the thirteenth century, some of which are possibly foreshadowed in Dargies's reference in 'La gens dient' to a lighter style in which songs are easier to remember. Dargies, however, as far as we can judge from his extant works, chose not to take this path, rejecting songs in this lighter style as 'febles chanz': instead, his chansons remain exemplary works in the old high-style courtly song tradition.

Ex. 4.1. 'Chançon ferai mout maris' (R/S 1565): T, fo. 145^v; K, fo. 130; A, fo. 157; M, fo. 94

1 2 3 4 5 6 7

T (a)

K (NPX)

A

M

1. Chan - çon fe - - - rai mout ma - - - ris

1 2 3 4 5 6 7

T (a)

K (NPX)

A

M

2. D'a-mours qui tant seut va - - - - loir

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 1 2 3 4

T (a)

K (NPX)

A

M

3. Faus l'ont lais - sié de - che - oir 4. S'en est pris pe - ris

Ex. 4.I. (*cont.*)

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8

T (a)

K (NPX)

A

M

et

et

5. Li mons [] vein - cuz et fail - - - liz

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8

T (a)

K (NPX)

A

M

6. Drois est, puis qu'a - mours n'a po - - - oir

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10

T (a)

K (NPX)

A

M

7. Que li sie - cles ne puet mes rienz va - - loir.

II. Mout nous ont a nient mis
 Amours qui donoit savoir
 Dames et barons valoir;
 Honours et priz

En est durement amatis;
Et bien sacheiz vous tout de voir
Largece et biens se font maiz pou paroir.

III. Soulaz, depors, gieus et ris,
Courtoisie et dire voir
Voit on maiz mout remanoir;
Bien est trahis
Cil, cele qui s'en fait eschiz,
Quar nus ne puet grant joie avoir
Qu'il ne conviegne en douce amour manoir.

IV. Mout par est folz et cheitiz
Qui n'en set le mieuz veoir,
Ce est legier a savoir,
Et j'ai apris
A ester a bone amour sougiz,
Qui que la mete en nonchaloir;
Suens liges sui, o li vueill remanoir.

V. Amour m'ont liié et pris;
Touz jours serf a mon pooir
Celi qui me fait doloir;
Mout m'esjoïs
En ce que je sui fins amis;
Se loiautez me puet valoir,
Pas ne faudrai a guerredon avoir.

Envoi

Mout sui gueriz,
Quant je sui et serai tous dis
La u sueill, que qu'en doie avoir;
Sa volenté vueill en gré recevoir.

Ex. 4.2. 'Ainc mais ne fis chançon' (R/S 1223): T, fo. 141^v (notated a fourth lower in the MS); M, fo. 87

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10

T

M

1. Ainc mais ne fis chan - çon jour de ma vi - e

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10

T

M

2. Donc je me trou - vais - se si es - ga - ré,

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10

T

M

3. Qu'a pain - nes sai se sui u ne sui mi - e,

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10

T

M

4. Quar i - re m'a et mes - chies tel me - né

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10

T

M

5. Et ce que voi tout le mont a - tour - né

Ex. 4.2. (*cont.*)

6. En tris - te - cœ, en mes - dit, en en - vi - e;

7. D'au - tre cho - se n'i a - vra mais par - lé,

8. Ainz ont a - mours et tout bien a - dos - sé.

II. Ha, bone Amour, cil qui vous ont trahie,
 Li felon faus, sunt mout petit sené;
 Ja muet de vous granz confors, granz aïe;
 Qui vous sert tost l'avés guerredoné;
 Pour ce me tieig ades en loiauté,
 Quar par ghiler n'en quier avoir amie;
 Je ne voil pas le don dessavoré
 Que l'en conquiert aveques fausseté.

III. Ainc vers Amours ne fis jour trecherie,
 Ainz ai touz jours de mout fin cuer amé
 La grant, la gente, la bele, l'eschavie
 A vis riant et fres et colloré;
 Seur toutes est roïne de biauté,
 S'est debonaire et sage et envoieie,
 Maiz ce m'ocit qu'ele m'a eschivé
 Et tout ades par desdaig esguardé.

IV. Douce dame, la vostre compaignie
 Et vo soulaz ai lonc tanz desirré;
 Et quant sera la mercies desservie
 Pour qui j'ai tant veillié et souspiré

Et qui tant m'a traveillié et pené?
 Et touz jors sui en vostre seignourie!
 N'est merveille se me truis esfreé,
 Que longuement m'a joie demoré.

V. Bele et bone, se vous par felenie
 Ou par conseil m'avez si malmené,
 Quar recouvrez a faire courtoisie
 Et desormais vous soit tout pardouné;
 J'avrai mout tost le travail oublié,
 Se vous faites ce que vostre hom vous prie;
 Et se vos mal me faites de vo gré,
 Je la prendrai de bone volenté.

Envoi

Ce sachiez bien, compainz Gasse Brullé:
 Bien pert ses mos qui d'Amors me chastie,
 Quar pris me voi, surpris et arresté,
 Maix je n'i truis pitiet n'umiliteit.

Ex. 4.3. 'Desque ci ai tous jours chanté' (R/S 418): K, fo. 127 (notated a fifth higher in the MS); U, fo. 61^v; a, fo. 17; M, fo. 88; I, fo. 144

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8

K 1. Des - que ci ai tous jours chan - té

U

a

M

T

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10

K 2. De mout bon cuer fin et loi - al en - tier,

U

a

M

T

1 2 3 4

K 3. N'ainc de chan - gier

U

a

M

T

Ex. 4.3. (*cont.*)

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8

K 4. N'oi de - denz mon cueur vo - lan - té

U

a

M

T

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10

K 5. Ne ma pain - ne ne m'i e - - üst mes - tier;

U

a

M

T

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10

K 6. Bien m'a A - mours a son oez es - prou - vé,

U

a

M

T

Ex. 4.3. (*cont.*)

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10

K 7. Re - te - nu m'a ne ja nel quier lais - sier,

U 8. Et s'en voi je les plu - sors maiz tar - gier.

a

M

T

II. Ce sont cil fol maleüre
 Dont il est trop pour Amours guerroier;
 Par lor plaidier
 Ont a maint amant destorbé
 Ne ja un d'eus n'i verroiz guaaignier;
 De ce devroient estre pourpensé
 Que teus puet nuire qui ne puet aidier,
 Maiz enuienz ne se puet chastoier.

III. Cele genz ont petit amé
 Qui se painnent de nos contraloier;
 Ce n'a mestier,
 Que ja tant n'avront devisé

Que l'en doive pour ce Amors leissier;
Non fait nus voir, s'en lui n'a fausseté.
Diex, qui n'aime de quoi se set aidier?
Voist se rendre, qu'al siecle n'a mestier.

IV. Je me tieig a bon eüre
De ce qu'ainz jor n'eu talent de trechier
Ne de boisier,
Ainz me truis d'Amours alumé
Si freschement com fui au commencer,
Encore m'ait guerredons demouré;
Je me soulaz en ce qui puet aidier
En loiauté vueill perdre u gaaignier.

V. Par mainte foiz m'a l'on blasmé
De ce que trop me sui mis en dangier,
Maiz foloier
Voi touz ceuz qui le m'ont moustré,
Quar je ne puis mieuz ma peinne emploier;
Tost a Amours le pluz haut don douné:
Si ne s'en doit nus hom trop esmaier.
Pour tel joie se doit on traveillier.

Envoi

A vous le di, compainz Gasse Brullé:
Pensez d'Amours de son nom essaucier,
Que li plusor se peinent d'abaissier.

Ex. 4.4. 'He Diex! tant sunt maiz de vilainnes gens' (R/S 684): K, fo. 128; M, fos. 95^v–96

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10

K

M

1. He Diex! tant sunt maiz de vi - lain - nes gens

K

M

2. Qui en si pou de tens

K

M

3. Ont de moi dit fo - li - - e,

K

M

4. Qu'il cui - doi - ent que tens fust mes ta - lenz

K

M

5. Que Joie et Jou - vens

K

M

6. Et A - mours fust guer - pi - e

Ex. 4.4. (*cont.*)

The musical score consists of five systems, each with a vocal line (K) and an accompaniment line (M). The lyrics are in Old French and are numbered 1 through 10 above the first system.

System 1: 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10
 K: Treble clef, 8/8 time signature. Notes: G4, A4, B4, C5, B4, A4, G4, F#4, E4, D4.
 M: Treble clef, 8/8 time signature. Notes: G3, A3, B3, C4, B3, A3, G3, F#3, E3, D3.
 Lyrics: 7. Touz jours par moi, maiz ein - si n'est il mi - e;

System 2:
 K: Treble clef, 8/8 time signature. Notes: G4, A4, B4, C5, B4, A4, G4, F#4, E4, D4.
 M: Treble clef, 8/8 time signature. Notes: G3, A3, B3, C4, B3, A3, G3, F#3, E3, D3.
 Lyrics: 8. Ainz sui et iere a ses com - man - de - ment,

System 3:
 K: Treble clef, 8/8 time signature. Notes: G4, A4, B4, C5, B4, A4, G4, F#4, E4, D4.
 M: Treble clef, 8/8 time signature. Notes: G3, A3, B3, C4, B3, A3, G3, F#3, E3, D3.
 Lyrics: 9. Et lor par - lers vous di que c'est noi - enz,

System 4:
 K: Treble clef, 8/8 time signature. Notes: G4, A4, B4, C5, B4, A4, G4, F#4, E4, D4.
 M: Treble clef, 8/8 time signature. Notes: G3, A3, B3, C4, B3, A3, G3, F#3, E3, D3.
 Lyrics: 10. Qu'en - vers A - mours ne fis jour tre - che - ri - e

System 5:
 K: Treble clef, 8/8 time signature. Notes: G4, A4, B4, C5, B4, A4, G4, F#4, E4, D4.
 M: Treble clef, 8/8 time signature. Notes: G3, A3, B3, C4, B3, A3, G3, F#3, E3, D3.
 Lyrics: 11. Ne ne fe - rai a nul jour de ma vi - e.

II. Ahï, felon plain de grant mautalant,
 A pou d'afaitement,
 Sanz point de courtoisie,
 De fauseté estes commencement,
 De mal esmouvement
 Et de grant felenie.
 Mout vaut petit chancun sa vilanie:

De mesdire, sachiez, ce n'est pas sens,
Si n'est nus preus ne nus profite mens,
Ainz eschivent tuit cil lor compaignie
Ou il a sens, soulaz et vaillandie.

III. Trestuit cil sunt de mout fol ensçient
Qui pour lor janglement
Joent de repentie;
Quar la painne, li travaux, li tourmens
Est drois avancemens
D'avoir joie furnie,
Car autrement n'a nus loial amie;
Et qui la quiert per ces losengemens
C'est li cochés qui guenchist a touz vens:
Or amera et puis tantost oublie;
N'est pas sages qui en celui se fie.

IV. Douce dame, le vostre biau cors gent,
Vostre vis rouvelent
Comme rose espanie,
Bele bouche vermeille et blans les dens
Pluz que lis ne argens,
Gorge blanche et polie;
De grant biauté portez la seignourie.
N'est merveille se je a celi pens,
C'une douçours me vient au cuer dedenz
Qui m'aliege mon mal et ma haschie,
Et je sui cil qui del tout l'en mercie.

Ex. 4.5. 'Au tens gent que raverdoie' (R/S 1753): K, fo. 22o

K

Au tens gent que ra - - ver - - doi - - e

Tou - - te riens a sa col - - or,

Que tout oi - - - sel main - ent joi - - - e

Con - - tre la feuille et la flor,

Lors di que grant tort av - - - roi - - - e,

Se ne mi res - - - bau - - dis - - - soi - - - e

Pour a - - - mor

A qui li miens cuers s'ot - - roi - - - e

Nuit et jor.

1

1. Main-tes foiz m'a l'en de - man - dé

2a

2. Si s'en - - - mer - - - veill - - -

2b

- oi - - - ent la gent

3-4

3. Se j'ay d'a - mou - rous cuer chan - - - té 4. So - vent;

5

5. Et sa-chiez bien j'en d i - - - rai ve - - - ri - - - té

6-7

6. De mon pen-sé 7. Et de ce qu'A-mours me con - - - sent

8

8. Qui m'a pe - - - - - né

9

9. De son tour - - - - - ment

10a

10. Que sent

10b

sou - - - - - vent,

11

11. Mais de tant m'a Dieus hou - - - - - nou - - - - - ré

12a

12. Qu'en - - - - - cor n'ai pas

12b

sans tres fin cuer chan - - - - - - - - - - - té.



The Later Trouvère Tradition: Continuation and Innovation

Tradition is not a thing of the past but a living and dynamic process that began in the past, flourishes in the present, and looks forward into the future as well. While it does not seek novelty for its own sake, it does not avoid the new in the life around it.¹

While the repertory of trouvère song can in one sense be regarded as a continuation of the twelfth-century lyric art of the troubadours of Occitania, it evolved into a quite distinctive and markedly more diversified repertoire during the thirteenth century, particularly in the second and third quarters of that century. The unique course of its development and expansion was a direct product, not merely of the geographical relocation, but also of the immediate circumstances of its new social, historical, and cultural context. One of the most basic changes was, of course, a linguistic one, but through the skill and prowess of such seminal figures as Gace Brulé and Gautier de Dargies, the *canso* was successfully transmogrified into a genre with a new language and an autonomous identity, that which we refer to as the *grand chant courtois*. But in a number of different ways the trouvère song tradition ‘opened out’, not only in its geographical orbit, but in the extension of the nature of the repertoire, reflecting the diverse influences to which it was subject during the thirteenth century, and the widening range of its participants and of the audience at which it was aimed.

The world of the troubadour *canso* had largely been part of a ‘closed’ culture, associated mainly with both noble amateurs and professional ‘composers’ and interpreters, working within the milieu of wealthy and aristocratic households, though it is well documented that troubadours of humble origin were admitted to these circles because of their art. The very early trouvères, associated with the early manifestations of the troubadour art form in the north of France, seem also to have belonged to that *niveau* of society. Very quickly, however, it passed from

¹ Lord, ‘Characteristics of Orality’, 63.

the exclusive preserve of one social group and embraced a larger public. Various socio-historical reasons have been advanced for this, including the demise of feudal society, the growth in urban centres, and the founding of craft and trade guilds. If the extant repertoire is representative, it would appear that the art form imported from the troubadours of the south found a particularly welcome home in the region just north of Paris: this is immediately apparent even from the names of the individual trouvères, such as Jacques de Cambrai, Guillaume d'Amiens, Blondel de Nesle, Conon de Béthune, Gautier de Dargies, Raoul de Beauvais, Raoul de Soissons, Aubertin d'Airaines, Gillebert de Bernaville, Étienne de Meaux; and from the number of trouvères from Arras, including Andrieu Contredit d'Arras, Jehan Le Cuvelier d'Arras, Moniot d'Arras, and, of course, Adam le Bossu d'Arras, more commonly known as Adam de la Halle. Arras seems to have provided an active focal point for the trouvères, having a guild, known as the 'Confrérie des jongleurs et bourgeois d'Arras', and a society, the Puy d'Arras. The exact nature and function of the Confrérie and the *puy* remains unclear, but a necrology of the former survives in which the names and dates of the deaths of its members are recorded.² No such document survives to record the members of the *puy*, but various references are made by different trouvères to competitions it held, and it is recorded that every year a prince of the *puy* was chosen.³ One poem in particular, the thirteenth-century *Dit artésien*, refers to the high standing of the *puy* at Arras and to the illustrious company who assembled there.⁴ Such an active performing circle must no doubt have nurtured the development of the *jeu-parti*, a genre which is particularly associated with the Arras poets.⁵

Apart from the apparent growth in popularity of the *jeu-parti*, the repertoire of the trouvères of the middle decades of the thirteenth century differs in other respects from that of the early generation of trouvères, reflecting a marked shift in musical taste. The 'courtly' *chanson d'amour* continues to be composed but it has increasingly to coexist with songs of the *pastourelle* type, in which an

² See R. Berger, *Le Nécrologe de la confrérie des jongleurs et des bourgeois d'Arras (1194–1361)*, 2 vols. (Mémoires de la Commission Départementale des Monuments Historiques de Pas-de-Calais; Arras, 1963–70) and A.-H. Guesnon, *Statuts et règlements de la confrérie des jongleurs et des bourgeois* (Arras, 1876). For a discussion of Arras and the *puy*s see ch. 8 of Butterfield, *Poetry and Music in Medieval France*.

³ Among the poets who refer to the *puy* at Arras are Andrieu Contredit d'Arras, Jean de Renti, and Jean Bretel (who is recorded to have held the title of prince of the *puy*). For a discussion of the Confrérie and the *puy* see L. B. Richardson, 'The *Confrérie des jongleurs et des bourgeois* and the "Puy d'Arras" in Twelfth and Thirteenth Century Literature', in J. Fischer and P. A. Gaeng (eds), *Studies in Honor of Mario A. Pei* (Studies in the Romance Languages and Literature, 114; Chapel Hill, NC, 1972). See also M. Ungureanu, *La Bourgeoisie naissante: Société et littérature bourgeoises d'Arras aux XII^e et XIII^e siècles* (Mémoires de la Commission des Monuments historiques du Pas-de-Calais; Arras, 1955).

⁴ See *Chansons et dits artésiens du XIII^e siècle*, ed. A. Jeanroy and H. Guy (Bordeaux, 1898), 33–4.

⁵ Newcombe discusses the strong association between the Arras poets and the origins of the *jeu-parti* in his introduction to *Les Poésies du trouvère Jehan Erart*, 9–11.

altogether different set of thematic and poetic conventions prevail: and although love is still a central theme, it is a very different kind of love, which is located in a more lowly (and often rustic) setting, with a very different ethos from that of the *fine amour* of the high-style chanson. The concept of *fine amour*, though still idealized to a certain degree (and it continued to be idealized in some poetic traditions for at least a further two centuries), may have held less immediate appeal for a new generation of trouvères, many of whom were not of noble rank but belonged to flourishing bourgeois societies, such as that of Arras.

The *pastourelle* was not a new genre: *pastourelles* had featured previously, if only occasionally (as far as can be judged from the written transmission) in the earlier repertoire, the earliest extant example being the well-known *pastorela* 'L'autrier just'una sebissa' by the troubadour Marcabru.⁶ However, whereas the extant output of the early generation of trouvères such as Brulé and Dargies consisted almost exclusively of higher-style chansons,⁷ the lighter *pastourelle*-type increasingly occupied a more substantial proportion of the surviving output of their successors. The most notable contributor to this genre is the Arras trouvère Jehan Erart, who was probably active in the second quarter of the thirteenth century,⁸ and whose extant output consists of ten chansons, one *serventois*, and eleven *pastourelles*.⁹ All of his works, both chansons and *pastourelles* alike, tend to have shorter lines of five, six, seven, or eight syllables rather than the ten-syllable line and, significantly, the three songs with ten-syllable lines are the chansons 'Pré ne vergier ne boscaige foillu' (R/S 2055) and 'Encoire sui cil ki a merchi s'atent' (R/S 644) and the *serventois* 'Nus chanter' (R/S 485).¹⁰ Furthermore, in both the chansons and *pastourelles* the melodic settings are mostly syllabic, and there is a marked preference for a 'major mode' tonality. But there are also distinguishing genre characteristics, apart from the subject matter, in Erart's chansons and *pastourelles*: the majority of the *pastourelles* have refrain

⁶ For observations on this *pastorela* as well as on three other *cansos* by Marcabru, see W. Arlt, 'Musica e testo nel canto francese: Dai primi trovatori al mutamento stilistico intorno al 1300', in L. Pestalozza (ed.), *La musica nel tempo di Dante: Ravenna 1986* (Milan, 1988), 175–97 and 306–21. See also the excellent edition of these texts in *Marcabru: A Critical Edition*, ed. Simon Gaunt et al. (Woodbridge, 2000).

⁷ Apart from *jeux-partis* in which they are one of the named participants, the only other genre represented in their collective works are the three *descorts* by Dargies referred to in Ch. 4. Likewise, the surviving repertoire of the troubadours would suggest that they too, for the most part, composed high-style songs.

⁸ The *Nécrologe* has two entries for the death of a trouvère with this name or a variant thereof: Jehans Erardi in 1258 and Jehan Erart in 1259 (see Berger, *Le Nécrologe*, 47 and 48). For a discussion of these entries and of the scant biographical details of Jehan Erart see *Les Poésies du trouvère Jehan Erart*, ed. Newcombe, 12–18.

⁹ There are two further chansons and one further *pastourelle* of dubious authorship. See *The Songs of Jehan Erart*, ed. Newcombe, 23–6.

¹⁰ One of the *pastourelles*, 'L'autre ier chevauchai mon chemin' (R/S 1361), does have ten-syllable lines, but as part of an elaborate heterometric structure:

rhymes: a b a b b b b b b b b b c c b

metre: 8 4 8 4 4 10 2 3 10 8 8 10 5 5 8 5 5 5

forms while the chansons do not, and while the chansons are for the most part isometric,¹¹ the *pastourelles*, conversely, are predominantly heterometric.¹²

The Songs of Moniot de Paris

An 'opening out' of the trouvère art in the middle decades of the thirteenth century did not manifest itself only in the popularity of *pastourelle*-type works: there is an increasing resonance of the lower style in the entire repertoire, including the chansons, from this period. The works of Moniot de Paris, who was active after 1250,¹³ are a telling witness to the degree to which the trouvère repertoire (or that part of it which seemed worthy of written record) had changed by the third quarter of the thirteenth century. So integrated are those features which in an earlier repertoire would have been distinctive elements of 'high' and 'low' styles, that it is difficult to classify his works into genres.¹⁴ On the basis of subject matter, three of his nine surviving works can be identified as 'lower style' *pastourelles* and two others (of which one is a musical and metrical contrafact of the other) are of a similar lighter-style narrative type, variously described by modern scholars as *chanson de rencontre* and *chanson de la mal-mariée*. The remaining four, however, fall neatly into no single category: the basic subject matter is love and, although many of the topoi of the traditional *grande chanson courtoise* are present, these are manipulated to accommodate a new conception of courtly love, one which Frappier (and others) has described as 'une courtoisie embourgeoisée'.¹⁵ The pervading influence of lower-style

¹¹ Of the eleven *chansons* (including the *sirventois*) seven are isometric (three are decasyllabic, one octosyllabic, one heptasyllabic, and two hexasyllabic) while only three of the eleven *pastourelles* are isometric (all heptasyllabic).

¹² Seven of the eleven *pastourelles* have either a recurring end-of-stanza refrain or a variable refrain; conversely, none of the eleven 'authenticated' chansons has a refrain. In the chanson 'Hardi sui en l'acointance', however, each of the four strophes and the *envoi* end with the word 'avoir' and thus the latter can be seen to function in a manner similar to a refrain although it is built into the fabric of the structure of the strophe.

¹³ F. Gennrich, in *Die altfranzösische Rotrouenge* (Halle, 1925), 74, dates Moniot's songs from the end of the 12th and the beginning of the 13th c. and H. Spanke, in 'Zur Geschichte des altfranzösische Jeu-parti', *ZFSL* 52 (1929), 39–63 at 39, suggests a date around 1200 for the period of Moniot's activity. For a discussion of the inaccuracy of these proposed dates see *Moniot d'Arras et Moniot de Paris: Édition des chansons et étude historique*, ed. H. P. Dyggve (Mémoires de la Société Neo-Philologique de Helsinki, 13; 1938), 184–91, where he proposes instead the more likely date of post-1250.

¹⁴ This tendency to merge genres can be observed more generally in 13th-c. France. In a summary essay on 'Generic Hybrids', K. Brownlee comments: 'French literature of the 13th century is characterized by extensive experimentation with generic forms. Pre-existing literary genres are fused, deconstructed, and recombined in a dazzling variety of hybrids, which in turn give rise to further innovations.' See D. Hollier (ed.), *A New History of French Literature* (Cambridge, Mass., 1989), 88–93 at 88. For a broader context for the question of genre in respect of gender see S. Gaunt, *Gender and Genre in Medieval French Literature* (Cambridge, 1995).

¹⁵ See J. Frappier, *La Poésie lyrique française aux XII^e et XIII^e siècles* (Paris, 1963), 210 ff.

characteristics (Marshall's 'less refined lyricism'),¹⁶ is perhaps most markedly reflected in Moniot's use of refrain forms in all of his songs and, more generally, by his manifest penchant for a lighter style, both in his poetic and his musical technique.

Song types in Moniot de Paris's output

There has been particular interest in some of the refrain forms used by Moniot, which have been described as *rotrouenges*, but because of contradictory evidence and conflicting efforts at codifying this form the discussion here will categorize these songs based on the strong identity of the thematic content.¹⁷

The pastourelles

Of the three *pastourelles* by Moniot de Paris, two, 'A une ajornée' and 'Au nouviau tens', are of the more traditional and conventional variety in which the poet-persona who is out riding (or walking) meets a young shepherdess and attempts to seduce her; the third *pastourelle*, 'L'autrier par un matinet', is of the variety where the poet-persona merely describes and chronicles what he observes when he encounters a young shepherdess and shepherd. For the purposes of the present discussion I will concentrate on 'A une ajornée' (Ex. 5.1) and 'L'autrier par un matinet' (Ex. 5.2).¹⁸ Despite the different conventions adopted, both types have the same stylistic hallmarks of the 'low-style' narrative *pastourelle* genre. In 'L'autrier par un matinet' (Ex. 5.2), for example, the following characteristics may be observed:

1. The use of past tense to recount the narrative, beginning with the standard opening gambit ('L'autrier par un matinet, / un jor de l'autre semaine, / chevauchai...' [The other morning / one day the other week / I rode out...]);
2. the pastoral setting ('lez un boschet' [in a wood]);
3. the use of diminutive suffixes (*matinet*/*jardinet*, *gorgete*/*mainete*/*janbete*);
4. the use of proper names (even if stereotyped and representing stereotypes) for the protagonists (Robinet and Marguerot);
5. the use of a refrain;
6. references to musical instruments ('frestele', 'musete', 'pipe', 'flagolet');

¹⁶ See *The Chansons of Adam de la Halle*, ed. Marshall, 10.

¹⁷ Manuscript sources are contradictory in what they label as 'rotrouenge'. Gennrich and Spanke had divergent and elaborate theories about the text and melodic form of this 'genre', which did not always accord with what the manuscripts labelled it.

¹⁸ See also J. Stevens's comments on textual and musical characteristics of 'L'autrier par un matinet' and 'A une ajornée' in *Words and Music*, 231–3 and 471–2.

7. simple melodies and syllabic settings (a characteristic traditionally associated with the *pastourelle*, but in Moniot's works, one which may be regarded as typical of his melodies, irrespective of genre).

Less typical of general practice perhaps is the fact that both of these *pastourelles* are isometric; the third *pastourelle*, 'Au nouviau tens', like all of the remaining songs, is heterometric.

'A une ajornée' (see Ex. 5.1)

rhymes:	a'	b	a'	b	a'	b	a'	b	Ref.	<u>a</u>	<u>a</u>	<u>a</u>	<u>b</u>
syllables:	5+	5	5+	5	5+	5	5+	5		5+	5+	5+	5+
melody:	<i>a</i>	<i>b</i>	<i>a</i>	<i>b</i>	<i>a'</i>	<i>b'</i>	<i>c</i>	<i>d</i>		<u><i>a'</i></u>	<u><i>b'</i></u>	<u><i>c</i></u>	<u><i>d</i></u>
	<i>A</i>		<i>A</i>				<i>B</i>					<u><i>B</i></u>	

L'autrier par un matinet' (see Ex. 5.2)

rhymes:	a b	a b	a b	a b	a b	a b	b b	Ref.	<u>c</u>	<u>c</u>	<u>c</u>
syllables:	7 7+	7 7+	7 7+	7 7+	7 7+	7 7+	7+7+		7+	7+	7+
melody:	<i>a b</i>	<i>a b</i>	<i>a b</i>	<i>a b</i>	<i>a' c</i>	<i>a' c</i>	<i>d d</i>		<u><i>e</i></u>	<u><i>f</i></u>	<u><i>g</i></u>
	<i>A</i>		<i>A</i>		<i>B</i>					<u><i>C</i></u>	
										(AAB)	

In 'L'autrier' neither the rhyme nor the melody of the refrain is related to the strophe, but in 'A une ajornée' the refrain has the same two rhymes on which the strophe is based although in a different configuration (*aaab* instead of *abab*) and its melody is a repeat (with slight variations) of that of the second half of the strophe.¹⁹

¹⁹ Both of these refrains, and the refrains found in all the other Moniot songs, with the single exception of the *chanson* 'Quant je oi chanter', are listed in *Rondeaux et refrains du XIF siècle au début du XIV^e*, ed. N. J. H. van den Boogaard (BFR, sér. D, 3; Paris, 1969). The recurring refrain of 'L'autrier' (Boogaard, *refrain* 1629, henceforth Boo 1629) and the variable refrain of 'A une ajornée' (Boo 241) are found only in these two songs. In 'A une ajornée' each of the three versions of the variable, or 'developing', refrain has the same metrical structure and the same pattern of rhymes, but the actual rhymes used (and consequently the text, though all three are thematic variants around a central idea) vary according to the rhymes used in the strophe(s) they accompany. (In U. Mölk and F. Wolfzettel, *Répertoire métrique de la poésie lyrique française des origines à 1350* (Munich, 1972) 'A une ajornée' (M/W 772) is categorized as a *chanson avec des refrains* belonging to the subcategory R4 of variable refrains (see the introduction, pp. 20–2 and *Fiche* 54); Doss-Quinby (following Boogaard), however, treats it as a *chanson à refrain* with a variable refrain, arguing that because the metre and the melody remain unchanged there is no metrical or melodic 'rupture', a characteristic of *chansons avec des refrains*; see E. Doss-Quinby, *Les Refrains chez les trouvères du XIF siècle au début du XIV^e* (American University Studies, ser. 2, 17; New York, 1984), 98. In the discussion here (and below) of the relationship between strophe and refrain in Moniot's songs, references are made to elements of the strophe that are 'repeated' in the refrain. This is adopted as an expedient way of discussing the material in the order in which it is presented in performance since all of the refrains (with the exception of 'Quant je oi') are end refrains; it does not preclude the possibility that in some instances the refrain(s) may have been the generating point(s) of the 'composition' of the song.

The melodic setting of both *pastourelles* is syllabic and the construction is simple, regular, and repetitive. The melody of 'A une ajornée' (see Ex. 5.1) is very strongly 'tonal', being essentially in what we would regard as 'C major'. From the very first phrase this 'tonality' is firmly established: the melody begins on the 'third degree' and then highlights the two all-important semitones of this tonality, between the 'major third degree' and the 'subdominant', and between the 'leading note' and the 'tonic'. This phrase is answered in line 2 by the outline of the 'dominant triad'. Apart from this descending 'dominant triad' (repeated at the parallel passage in line 4) the melody for the most part moves predominantly in conjunct steps.

There are, however, two structurally important ascending melodic leaps in this song: the ascending fourth from 'dominant' to 'tonic' at the end of line 2 (and the parallel passage in line 4) and the ascending third from 'dominant' to 'leading note' at the end of the penultimate line of the strophe (line 7), and thence to the 'supertonic' at the beginning of line 8, outlining an ascending 'dominant triad' before the cadence on the 'tonic'. The musical phrases correspond to the units of the poetic lines and are articulated (with the exception of line 6 and the parallel passage in the refrain) by endings on the 'leading note', *b*, or the 'tonic', *c'*. This produces an effect of angularity rarely found in earlier trouvère melodies. The fact that the 'leading notes' rise to the 'tonic' at the beginning of the following lines and that line endings alternate between 'leading note' and 'tonic' emphasizes the 'tonality', and also articulates the overall A (lines 1 and 2), A (lines 3 and 4), B (lines 5–8) structure of the strophe.

The refrain repeats the melody of the B section with slight variations in the first two lines of its four-line musical sentence. In the second line of the refrain (line 10) the variation of line 6 consists merely of the repetition of the final note *a* to accommodate the added 'syllable' required for the feminine ending in the text of this line. The variation in the first line of the refrain (line 9) is, perhaps, more interesting: instead of ending the line on a repeated *b* as in line 5 (or, for that matter, lines 1 or 3, which have the same melody), the end of line 9 rises a semitone to the 'tonic', thus articulating the metrical units of the individual poetic line slightly more prominently. It is of course quite possible (especially since only one reading is extant) that local variation of this type may have arisen as an inadvertent error on the part of a scribe.²⁰ Alternatively, it is possible that the variation highlights a slightly different phrasing in the refrain, which, as it happens, also mirrors differences in the syntax of the accompanying text. In each of the three instances in which the melodic strain of line 1 is used in the strophe,

²⁰ This type of variation at the end of a line (which here occurs in the sole extant source for 'A une ajornée') arises in other instances as a variant between manuscript readings (as discussed in Chs 3 and 4 above).

the following poetic line (lines 2, 4, and 6) is syntactically related: line 1 is a subordinate clause to line 2 ('at daybreak / I rode out the other day'); line 4 is a subordinate clause to line 3 ('in a valley / near to my path'), and lines 5 and 6 are joined by the relative pronoun 'who' ('I found a shepherdess / who was praiseworthy'). By contrast, in the context in which the melodic variant of the melody of line 1 is used in the refrain there are two independent clauses in the text ('She was beautiful and wise / I saluted her'). Thus a return to the 'tonic' *c'* rather than repeating *b* could be regarded as providing a slightly more prominent division of these two musical strains than in the strophe, reflecting the difference in the syntactic structure of each. The parallels between the musical and syntactical structures here, however, are very basic, in each case revolving around the fundamental metrical unit, the poetic line; a more general point which emerges is that there is a marked tendency in the *pastourelle*-type songs for musical phrasing to coincide with metrical structures, in contrast to the high-style chansons in which these structures tend to operate in 'counterpoint'.

The *pastourelle* 'L'autrier par un matinet' (see Ex. 5.2) has quite a different structure. Like 'A une ajournée', the strophe of 'L'autrier' is composed of two rhymes, but, in contrast, its strophes are longer (having fourteen lines as opposed to only eight in 'A une ajournée') and the individual lines are also longer, having seven syllables as opposed to five. Despite the fact that the strophes in 'L'autrier' have six more lines than do those of 'A une ajournée', both are composed of only four musical strains. There is therefore a more substantial amount of melodic repetition in 'L'autrier'. The strophe can be divided into two parts: lines 1-8 and lines 9-14: an overall A (1-4), A (5-8), B (9-14) form is apparent. However, on the basis of poetic metre and melodic repetition, the strophe is essentially articulated in units of two lines. In the first part the rhyme and melody of a two-line unit is repeated four times. Unlike the *cauda* (lines 5-8) of the strophe of 'A une ajournée', which uses both the musical strains from the *frons*, the *cauda* of 'L'autrier' (lines 9-14) uses only the first of the two musical strains. This first musical strain, in a slightly varied form (*a'*), combines with a new melodic strain (*c*) to form a two-line unit, which is then repeated. To this is appended a third phrase of two lines in which a new musical strain *d* is introduced and then repeated: in itself, therefore, the *cauda* of 'L'autrier' also has an AAB structure, mirroring the large-scale structure of the strophe. A further interesting aspect of the melodic structure of this strophe is the repetition of smaller melodic units within individual lines. The music of lines 2, 4, 6, and 8, all heptasyllabic feminine lines (having therefore an extra 'syllable'), are composed of a four-note figure (syllables 1-4) repeated exactly (syllables 5-8) in each line. This melodic structure does not, however, mirror the structure of the text, where there is no corresponding syntactical or grammatical division

between the fourth and fifth syllables. The *c* strain of the melody (occurring in the *cauda* at lines 10 and 12) is, moreover, derived from the four-note motif that forms the core of the *b* strain, but in *c* the four-note figure occurs at a pitch a fourth higher and is not repeated, as in *b*, but is instead developed to form a continuous eight-note phrase.

Thus the music for the strophe of 'L'autrier par un matinet' involves large amounts of repetition at different levels: whole melodic lines are repeated to new text, individual lines are comprised of immediately repeated half-line cells, and half-line cells appear transposed in different lines, but, unlike the melodic cells in, for instance, a song by Dargies, which endlessly transform themselves so that they are often difficult to identify, here the melodic cells remain largely unchanged and retain a distinctive identity, giving the melodies a very repetitive and 'popular' character. Consequently, within the units of individual phrases or lines, the relationship between text and music is not a very subtle one in these *pastourelle*-type songs.

The invariable refrain of 'L'autrier' retains the metrical structure of the strophe in so far as, like the strophe, it consists entirely of heptasyllabic lines (and the three feminine heptasyllabic lines of the refrain follow directly after a sequence of three feminine heptasyllabic lines at the end of the strophe); however, it uses neither rhyme nor melody from the strophe. A new rhyme '-ele' is introduced and repeated for all three lines of the refrain, and the melody of the refrain also contrasts with that of the strophe. However, the melody of the refrain, like that of the strophe, is notably repetitive, the first line being entirely based on the repeated pitch *f* (with the exception of one *g* on the antepenultimate syllable), and the second line of the refrain consisting largely of the repetition of a single pitch one degree lower. It is noteworthy that there is also a contrast in 'tonality' between the strophe and the refrain. The principal 'tonal' centre of the former is *d* and of the latter is *f*. This is not to say that the 'tonality' of the refrain and the strophe are unrelated or in fundamental opposition. In both there is a certain tension between these two pitch centres. In the *frons* of the strophe (lines 1-8) alternate lines set up a tension between the ranges *d-g* and *c-e*, but in both *d* is a prominent pitch centre. Then in the first four lines of the *cauda* (lines 9-12) the range *d-g* is set in contrast with a new pitch range, *d-a*, but in this alternation a new pitch centre is set up: *f*. Finally, in the last two lines of the *cauda* *d* is re-established as the pitch centre. The first line of the refrain has a pitch centre unambiguously on *f*. The second line is centred on *e* but states both *f* and *d*, and ends on the latter. The third and final line occupies the range from *c* to *f*; and the ending on *c* has an 'upbeat' quality, leading on to the opening *d* of the next strophe.

Chansons de rencontre (chansons de la malmariée)

Two other songs of a type related to the *pastourelles*, 'Je chevauchioie l'autrier' and 'Pour mon cuer resleecier', should be mentioned briefly here (see Ex. 5.3). Both of these songs have exactly the same melodic and metrical structure: both texts are about the encounter of the poet with a woman who complains about her worthless husband: the genre is variously designated as *chanson de la malmariée* or *chanson de rencontre*.²¹ The texts of the two songs are quite different in perspective, however: in 'Je chevauchioie' the narration is given to the woman, whereas in 'Pour mon cuer resleecier' it is the poet-persona who narrates. Given that the text of 'Pour mon cuer resleecier' is incomplete and that it has exactly the same metrical and musical structure as 'Je chevauchioie' (of which it is most likely a contrafactum), the latter will be discussed here.²² This song has many of the characteristics associated with the *pastourelle*-type genre but often in a more restrained mode. The topos of seduction is present, if less explicit than in the *pastourelles*. The setting is somewhat rustic but instead of being *en pleine campagne* it is specified in the text that the geographical location is in the outskirts of Paris, along the banks of the Seine. More significantly, the woman the poet encounters is a 'dame' (who, in the third strophe, reveals herself to be a Parisian) rather than a 'pastore'. The ubiquitous evocation of music-making (singing, dancing, or playing instruments), one of the hallmarks of the lower style, is present (lines 6–8), but it includes none of the liberal references found in *pastourelles* to musical instruments.²³

²¹ Dyggve uses the term *chanson de la malmariée*, and in the Rosenberg and Tischler anthology, *Chanter m'estuet* (p. 513), it is described as a *chanson de rencontre*. F. Gennrich (in *Die altfranzösische Rotrouenge*) classifies it, on the basis of its structure rather than its thematic content, as a *rotrouenge* (pp. 67–9). For a more general discussion of the *chanson de la malmariée* see Pierre Bec, *La Lyrique française au moyen âge (XII^e–XIII^e siècles): Contribution à une typologie des genres poétiques médiévaux*, 2 vols. (Publications du Centre d'Études Supérieures de Civilisation Médiévale de l'Université de Poitiers, 6; Paris, 1977–8), i. 69–89.

²² It is not clear whether Moniot is indeed the author of both, as is suggested by the attributions in the manuscripts, or if one is a contrafact by another trouvère. Dyggve has examined the question in some detail and suggests that 'Je chevauchioie' is the original work. Furthermore, while he does not entirely rule out the possibility that Moniot might have been moved to recompose one of his own songs to a different text, he suggests that it is more likely that 'Pour mon cuer resleecier' was composed by someone else (see *Moniot*, ed. Dyggve, 181–4). The refrain of 'Je chevauchioie' (Boo 961) is invariable, and its text only is found in two other works: as the fourth refrain of an anonymous *chanson avec des refrains*, R/S 1698, where it occurs without music; and as the thirty-eighth refrain inserted into 'Lars amandi d'Ovide en prose avec commentaire' (Paris, BNF f. fr. 881, fo. 82 and Paris, Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal, MS 2741, fo. 42). 'Pour mon cuer resleecier' is also a *chanson à refrain* but its refrain (Boo 1693) is of the 'modified' variety categorized by Mölk/Wolfzettel as R3 (*Repertoire métrique*, 20–2 and *Fiche 53*), which involves a syntactical and metrical modification at the end of one or more lines of the refrain to adapt them to the changing rhymes of successive strophes: see the initial refrain and its three modified versions in Ex. 5.3(b)).

²³ In these lines it is clear that the woman is singing; the verb 'noter' could suggest the playing of an instrument (at least it is used in this sense in Erart's *pastourelles*) but it probably does not in this instance. Instead it functions as part of the poetic technique of saying the same thing in two different ways and thus should be interpreted as meaning 'dire', to sing. This is particularly likely since the poet uses this technique in the passage immediately preceding (lines 5–7) where the protagonist's singing is described: 'she began to sing a song / softly, with soft breath, / very softly I heard her singing ...'.

Whereas two of Moniot's *pastourelles*, rather uncharacteristically for that genre, are isometric, 'Je chevauchoi' (Ex. 5.3) is heterometric, being composed of 6-, 7-, and 11-syllable lines. Like the *pastourelle*, it has a refrain,²⁴ but whereas, for instance, the refrain of the *pastourelle* 'L'autrier par un matinet' has a different rhyme and melody from the strophe, the two-line refrain of 'Je chevauchoi' has the same rhyme and melody (slightly varied) as the last two lines of the strophe. It is therefore integrated into the musical and metrical structure of the strophe, almost to the extent that it functions as the last two lines of the strophe rather than as an appended entity:

rhymes:	a b	a b	a b	c	c	Ref. <u>c</u>	<u>c</u>
syllables:	7 6+	7 6+	7 6+	11	11	11	11
melody:	<i>a b</i>	<i>a b</i>	<i>a b</i>	<i>c</i>	<i>d</i>	<u><i>c'</i></u>	<u><i>d'</i></u>
	<i>A</i>	<i>A</i>	<i>A</i>	<i>B</i>		<u><i>B'</i></u>	

The strophe of 'Je chevauchoi' is constructed, both metrically and musically, of four two-line units, the first three of which are identical: AAAB. The material of A and B is very contrasted both in metrical structure (with different rhymes and a different number of syllables per line — 7/6+ and 11) and in the music. With regard to the latter, the melody in A is very 'tonal', outlining the triad of 'G major'. By contrast, the B material (if we are to accept the KNPX reading) is 'tonally' unstable, being based on the tension of the outlined tritone *b–f*. Because the refrain material consists of a repetition (with slight variation) of the entire material of B, the overall structure of strophe and refrain together is very balanced, consisting of a unit of six 7- or 6+-syllable lines with alternating a and b rhymes, followed by a unit of four 11-syllable lines with a repeating c rhyme.

The subject matter of this *chanson de rencontre/chanson de la malmariée* sets it apart both from the *pastourelle* and the *chanson courtoise*, but its form and its metrical and musical structure set it apart from the traditional high-style *chanson*. Ultimately, it is a narrative genre with all the attendant characteristics, which leads one to situate it closer to the lighter-style songs.

'Hybrid' songs by Moniot de Paris

The remaining four songs by Moniot de Paris could, on the basis of their subject matter, loosely be regarded as relating to the *chanson courtoise* tradition, but the manner in which the subject matter is developed, and the forms and structures

²⁴ The Rosenberg and Tischler edition of this *chanson de rencontre/de la malmariée* in *Chanter m'estuet* (pp. 72–5) provides a purely conjectural musical rendition of this refrain based on the music of the first refrain.

used, all contribute to create a type of composition which is very far removed in aesthetic and style from, for example, the chansons of Gautier de Dargies.

The poetic texts feature a juxtaposition of courtly expressions with others that evoke the *pastourelle*-type genre. 'Qui veut amors maintenir', for instance, extols the virtues of *fine amour* and outlines in great detail the qualities a *fins amanz* should have. One of these two terms is used in all the strophes except the second:

I. Qui veut amors maintenir
 Tiengne soi jolivement
 Car nus ne doit avenir
 A fine amor autrement;
 Cil qui aime loiaument
 Se doit netement tenir
 Et belement contenir,
 Si avra de s'amie joie.
Dex me lest anuit venir
En tel lieu que m'aime voie.

II. Amors se veut detenir
 Par chascun bien cointement
 Biau chaucier et biau vestir
 Et aler mignotement
 Et contenir sagement;
 Qui veut amors retenir
 De parler se doit tenir
 Vilainement, se Dex me voie.
[Dex me lest . . .]

III. Braz estroitement laciez
 Doit li fins amanz avoir,
 Blans ganz, piez estroit chauciez,
 Netes mains, si doit savoir
 Que s'il a petit d'avoir
 Soit cortois et renvoisiez:
 Lors ert d'amors essauciez
 Et s'avra de s'amie joie.
[Dex me lest . . .]

IV. Net chief, cheveus bien pigniez
 Doit li fins amanz vouloir;
 Biax sorciz, denz afetiez
 Ne doit metre en nonchaloir
 Riens ne li puet tant voloir;

Les ungles nez et deugiez
 Li nés souvent espinciez:
 Lors avra de s'amie joie.
 [*Dex me lest . . .*]
 V. Soit cortois et enseigniez
 Fins amis vers toute gent,
 Euz nez, blans dras et nez piez
 Et de bel acointement,
 Et parout cortoisement
 Si en sera melz proisiez:
 Ja nus hons n'iert d'amors liez
 Qui vilainement se cointoie.
 [*Dex me lest . . .*]

The song is structured in *coblas doblas* and there is a close correspondence not only in the rhyming scheme of each strophe within the pair, but in the precise organization of each. In the second pair of strophes, for example, the term *fine amanz* occurs at an exactly parallel place in each, i.e. in the third to fifth syllables of the second line of each. While it is entirely conventional that 'cortois' should be one of the qualities listed which the *fins amanz* should have, this term, however, occurs in conjunction with a register of expression alien to the high-style song tradition. Moreover, the representation of *amour courtois* in this text has notably changed from the earlier understanding of *amour courtois*: although *courtoisie*, learning, and good behaviour are still recommended as attributes of the *fins amanz*, the main litany of desirable qualities relates to physical characteristics (the type of hands, nose, teeth, arms, feet, and even eyebrows and nails), dress (we are told that he should wear narrow shoes, white gloves, etc.), and even comportment (the *fins amanz* should 'aler mignotement', i.e. walk elegantly and gracefully). The detail of this worldly and bodily concept of *fine amor* contrasts with the noble and knightly qualities of the earlier repertoire. Indeed Moniot's use of the word 'cortois' has a connotation of politeness, graciousness, and respectfulness, more akin to a later meaning of the word courteous than to the more weighty sense which 'cortois' had for the earlier troubadours and trouvères, embracing such manners as befit the court of a prince. Thus Frappier's term 'une courtoisie embourgeoisée' to describe the concept of 'cortoisie' that emerged in the thirteenth century in the north of France would seem very apt, particularly since it accurately describes the social background of many of the later trouvères.

'Li tens que raverdoie' (Ex. 5.4) uses stock expressions which evoke the *chanson courtoise* tradition, whether consciously or not: the line 'Melz aim que ne soloie' (line 14) provides an intertextual reference to the song 'Plus aim ke je ne soloie' (R/S 1736) by Moniot d'Arras, and the line 'Talent m'est pris de

chanter' (line 5) recalls 'Talens me rest pris de chanter' (R/S 793), a contrafact of another song by Moniot d'Arras.²⁵ The song also uses feudal imagery: 'Je sui siens si ligement' (line 23), 'Merci, bele, a vous me rent; / Retenez moi ligement' (lines 61–2). Juxtaposed with this are images of the more pastoral world of the 'pucele' and 'l'amor a la dancele' and of the world of commerce: in the fourth strophe the poet announces that he is so preoccupied and 'bouleversé' with his love for an unattainable lady that he could not abandon it 'for all the gold of Tudele'. When singing the praises of this lady, he does not restrict himself to naming virtues such as a good heart, or her beautiful eyes, but also, more in the tradition of low genres, he mentions her pretty waist and her firm breasts. The refrain is particularly light in tone, being an alliterative play on the word 'doré':²⁶ a register of expression which is far removed from the *stilus tragicus* which Dante documents as the appropriate register for the high-style chanson.

'Lonc tens ai mon tens usé' (Ex. 5.5) treats a traditional theme of unrequited love: the first two strophes are addressed to the listener and the remaining three to the lady. Although following the chanson tradition, the author does not name the lady ('Bele, que je n'os nonmer', line 25) he uses other modes of address that would not be permissible in the traditional chanson such as 'Douce amïete plesent' (line 49). The remaining chanson, 'Quant oi chanter', similarly mixes characteristics of high and low style.

The refrain (Boo 1828) of the song 'Lonc tens' has four lines, the first of which is: 'Vadu, vadu, vadu, va!' From the trouvère's reference to this song as 'ceste vadurie' (line 52) it would appear that the song might originally have been built around the refrain. In this regard it is noteworthy that the text of this refrain occurs as the second refrain in Moniot de Paris's *pastourelle* 'Au nouviau tens', providing an intertextual reference within his own corpus. While it is possible that this refrain may have been part of the large repertoire of popular refrains, it does not survive anywhere else outside these two Moniot de Paris songs. Furthermore, it is not provided with music when it occurs as the second refrain in 'Au nouviau tens' (see Ex. 5.6), which is a *chanson avec des refrains*, or, more specifically, a *pastourelle avec des refrains*, containing three refrains in all, each of which is of a different length, with music provided for only the first refrain. This raises the problematic question regarding *chansons avec des refrains* as to whether one should interpret the practice in the sources of not providing melodies for refrains other than the first as an indication of a common practice whereby the melody of the first refrain was adapted to accommodate the text of later refrains

²⁵ The very first line of the song 'Au tens qui reverdoie' recalls, among others, the song 'Au tens que reverdoie' (R/S 1753), attributed variously to Dargies and Gontier de Soingnies.

²⁶ Boogaard classifies the invariable refrain (Boo 1891) of this song as a *refrain onomatopéique* (see *Rondeaux et refrains*, App. I, pp. 260–2).

(which in some instances would involve the addition or repetition of whole melodic lines, and/or the repetition or omission of pitches within the individual lines to set a line of different length in a later refrain), or whether this scribal practice indicated that the scribes considered it unnecessary to notate the melody of subsequent refrains because the refrains were so well known. If one were to accept the latter interpretation, it would imply that each refrain text also had a distinct melodic identity, and, by implication, that in the repertoire of popular refrains, each melody had an associated text. This is not borne out, however, by the transmitted corpus of refrains associated with Moniot de Paris's songs. In the case of 'Pour mon cuer resleecier', for instance, which has exactly the same metrical and musical structure as his *chanson de rencontre/chanson de la malmariée* 'Je chevauchioe' (and, as mentioned above, there is a possibility that both songs may be by Moniot himself), a new refrain text (Boo 1693) is added to the melody of the refrain of 'Je chevauchioe'. Nor is there any evidence that the refrain text of 'Je chevauchioe' in the two other contexts in which it is found (mentioned above) retained a distinct melodic identity.

'Au nouviau tens' is the only other song by Moniot de Paris containing refrains that are found elsewhere.²⁷ One of these refrains (Boo 1655), the third of the song, is found as the third refrain of another *chanson avec des refrains*, 'Puisque d'amour m'estuet chanter' (R/S 806) but which in that context is not provided with a melody either,²⁸ and, furthermore, the metrical structure of this third refrain is different from that of the initial refrain of the song, which is the only one for which a melody is provided. The second refrain in 'Au nouviau tens', the 'Vadu vadu . . .' refrain (Boo 1828) mentioned above, is not provided with a melody here either, but does survive with a melody in the Moniot de Paris song 'Lonc tens'. Because both songs are by him, there may be some justification for singing the second refrain text of 'Au nouviau tens' to the melody of the same refrain text used in 'Lonc tens'; however, there is no strong case for doing so, and indeed, it would appear that, at least as used in the trouvère songs, refrain texts did not retain an unchanging melodic identity but instead were set to different melodies, and, in some instances, those melodies in turn were used in the setting of other refrain texts.

²⁷ The first refrain (Boo 511) is the only one of the three refrains of this song not found elsewhere. The refrain type found in this *chanson avec des refrains* is categorized by Mölk/Wolfzettel into the subgroup 'refrain variablez' (see *Répertoire métrique*, 20–2, and *Fiche 55*), which comprises songs whose refrains are joined to the strophe by the insertion of a line of transition between the body of the strophe and the refrain, introducing one of the rhymes of the refrains.

²⁸ This song is attributed variously to Jehan Erart and to Raoul de Beauvais. The text of this song is edited in *Les Poésies du trouvère Jehan Erart*, ed. Newcombe, 148–9, and the music (of the strophe and the first refrain) is edited in *The Songs of Jehan Erart*, ed. Newcombe, 26.

Structure and form in Moniot de Paris's chansons

It has already been observed that in all his compositions, whether of the *pastourelle* or chanson type, Paris uses refrain forms. It was also observed that while, contrary to what one might expect, two out of the three *pastourelles* are isometric, all the remaining works are heterometric. Paris does not reserve any structure or form exclusively for one genre; indeed no two of his songs have exactly the same structure. What is particularly interesting is the structural variety in the metrical and musical relationship between the strophe and the refrain. Although individual instances have already been referred to, the structures of all the songs (with the exception of 'Quant je oi chanter', which will be discussed separately below) are presented in Table 5.1.²⁹ Here, two main categories are identified: the first is where the refrain repeats metrical and musical material from the strophe; and the second where a certain amount of repetition is involved but something new is also introduced, whether in the metrical or musical structure, or both.

Four songs fit into the first category: the chanson 'Qui veut amors maintenir', the *chanson de rencontre* 'Je chevauchioie l'autrier', the *pastourelle* 'A une ajornée', and finally the chanson 'Li tens que raverdoie'. The first two of these have eight-line strophes and two-line refrains, and, in both, the refrain is the same (metrically and musically) as the last two lines of the strophe.³⁰ 'A une ajornée' also has an eight-line strophe, but a four-line refrain. Musically the refrain simply repeats the second half of the strophe (with slight variations); the same rhymes a and b on which the strophe is based also form the basis of the refrain, but they appear in a different scheme: *aaab* as opposed to *abab*. The final song in this group, 'Li tens que raverdoie', has an eleven-line strophe and a two-line refrain. Musically the refrain is a repetition of the last two lines of the strophe but the rhymes bring together one rhyme from the first part of the chanson, b, and the rhyme of the last line of the strophe, f.³¹

²⁹ The melodic schemes represented here are based on the readings of KNP, unless otherwise stated. In the case of the chanson (or, more precisely, *pastourelle*) *avec des refrains* 'Au nouviau tens', the metrical and musical structures represented here for the refrain apply only to the first refrain; in the two songs, 'A une ajornée' and 'Pour mon cuer' (both of which are organized strophically in *coblas doblas*), the variable refrains of the former, and the modified refrains of the latter, retain the same relationship with the strophes they accompany, as indicated here for the first strophe and refrain.

³⁰ 'Qui veut amors' is an exact repetition, and 'Je chevauchioie' has only slight melodic variants. It should be pointed out, however, that in the case of 'Qui veut amors' the melody of R differs in its structure from that found in KNP and while the KNP melodic reading fits into this first category, that of R fits into the second category discussed below.

³¹ The melodic variation involves merely the distribution among two syllables, in the first line of the refrain, of the two pitches of a *plica* at the parallel passage in the strophe (lines 5 and 7), thereby accommodating the extra syllable provided by the feminine rhyme in the first line of the refrain.

TABLE 5.1. Metrical and musical structure in the works of Moniot de Paris

I

Qui veut amors maintenir (R/S 1424)

	a	b	a	b	b	a	a	c'	Ref.	<u>a</u>	<u>c'</u>
	7	7	7	7	7	7	7	8+		7	8+
K melody	<i>a</i>	<i>b</i>	<i>a</i> ¹	<i>c</i>	<i>d</i>	<i>e</i>	<i>a</i> ²	<i>f</i>		<u>c</u> ²	<u>d</u>
R melody	<i>a</i>	<i>b</i>	<i>a</i>	<i>b</i> ¹	<i>a</i> ¹	<i>a</i> ²	<i>c</i>	<i>a</i> ³		<u>c</u> ¹	<u>d</u>

Je chevauchois l'autrier (R/S 1255) and Pour mon cuer (R/S 1299)

	a	b'	a	b'	a	b'	c	c	Ref.	<u>c</u>	<u>c</u>
	7	6+	7	6+	7	6+	11	11		11	11
	<i>a</i>	<i>b</i>	<i>a</i>	<i>b</i>	<i>a</i>	<i>b</i>	<i>c</i>	<i>d</i>		<u>c</u> ¹	<u>d</u> ¹

A une ajournée (R/S 492)

	a'	b	a'	b	a'	b	a'	b	Ref.	<u>a'</u>	<u>a'</u>	<u>a'</u>	<u>b</u>
	5+	5	5+	5	5+	5	5+	5		5+	5+	5+	5
	<i>a</i>	<i>b</i>	<i>a</i>	<i>b</i>	<i>a</i> ¹	<i>b</i> ¹	<i>c</i>	<i>d</i>		<u>a</u> ²	<u>b</u> ²	<u>c</u>	<u>d</u>

Li tens qui raverdoie (R/S 1756)

	a'	b'	a'	b'	c	d	c	d	e	e	f	Ref.	<u>b'</u>	<u>f</u>
	6+	6+	6+	6+	7	7	7	7	7	7	7		7+	7
	<i>a</i>	<i>a</i> ¹	<i>a</i>	<i>a</i> ¹	<i>b</i>	<i>c</i>	<i>b</i>	<i>c</i>	<i>d</i>	<i>b</i>	<i>c</i>		<u>b</u> ¹	<u>c</u>

II

L'autrier par un matinet (R/S 965)

	a	b'	a	b'	a	b'	a	b'	a	b'	b'	b'	Ref.	<u>c'</u>	<u>c'</u>	<u>c'</u>
	7	7+	7	7+	7	7+	7	7+	7	7+	7+	7+		7+	7+	7+
	<i>a</i>	<i>b</i>	<i>a</i>	<i>b</i>	<i>a</i>	<i>b</i>	<i>a</i> ¹	<i>c</i>	<i>a</i> ¹	<i>c</i>	<i>d</i>	<i>d</i>		<u>e</u>	<u>f</u>	<u>g</u>

Long tens ai mon tens usé (R/S 475)

	a	a	a	b'	c	c	c	b'	Ref.	<u>d</u>	<u>d</u>	<u>d</u>	<u>b'</u>
	7	7	7	5+	7	7	7	5+		7	7	7	5+
	<i>a</i>	<i>a</i> ¹	<i>a</i> ²	<i>b</i>	<i>a</i>	<i>a</i> ¹	<i>a</i> ²	<i>b</i>		<u>a</u>	<u>a</u> ¹	<u>a</u> ²	<u>b</u>

Au nouviau tens (R/S 987)

	a'	a'	b	a'	b	a'	b	b	a'	b	a'	b	a'	c	Ref.	<u>a'</u>	<u>c</u>	<u>c</u>
	10+	10+	7	6+	7	6+	7	7	6+	7	7	6+	7	6		7+	7	6
	<i>a</i>	<i>a</i>	<i>b</i>	<i>c</i>	<i>b</i>	<i>c</i> ¹	<i>d</i>	<i>d</i>	<i>c</i> ²	<i>d</i>	<i>d</i>	<i>c</i> ²	<i>b</i>	<i>c</i>		<u>e</u>	<u>f</u>	<u>g</u>

The second category, involving songs whose refrains are in some degree related structurally to the strophe but also include some new material, is represented by the next three songs in Table 5.1. In the first song, the *pastourelle* 'L'autrier par un matinet', the refrain, like the strophe, is heptasyllabic throughout, having four successive feminine heptasyllabic lines (as in the last four lines of the strophe), but its rhyme and its melody are unrelated to the strophe. In the second song, 'Long tens ai mon tens usé', the four-line refrain is musically a

repetition of the last four lines of the eight-line strophe. However, the refrain is based primarily on a new rhyme, d, which is repeated for the first three lines of the refrain; the final line of the refrain uses the b rhyme from lines 4 and 8 of the strophe. The third song in this category is the *pastourelle* 'Au nouviau tens'. Here the rhymes of the three-line refrain are based on two of the rhymes of the strophe, a and c. The a rhyme occurs in eight of the seventeen lines of the strophe, including on the penultimate line, where it is followed by rhyme c, which is used only once in the strophe. Thus the refrain repeats the ac pattern of the last two lines of the strophe and, for the final line of the refrain, it repeats the c rhyme once again. The new material featured in the refrain of this song is the melody, which is unrelated to that of the refrain.

The song 'Quant je oi chanter' (R/S 969) has a very different structure from that of the other Moniot de Paris songs, having an eight-line refrain interpolated into the middle of the strophe and repeated at the end of the strophe, giving an overall structure AABBCB²B:

a'	b	a'	b	a'	a'	a'	b	a'	a'	a'	b	c	b	c	b
8+	8	8+	8	5+	5+	5+	5	5+	5+	5+	5	8	8	8	8
a	a'	a	a'	b	c	b'	c'	b	c	b'	c'	d	d'	d	d'
A		A		B				B				C		C	

a'	a'	a'	b	a'	a'	a'	b
5+	5+	5+	5	5+	5+	5+	5
b	c	b'	c'	b	c	b'	c'
B				B			

This is a *chanson avec des refrains*, with three refrains (see Ex. 5.7). The rhymes of the refrain are the same as those used in the first part of the strophe, but in a different configuration: aaab as opposed to abab. However, the refrain has short five-syllable lines in contrast to the eight-syllable lines of the strophe. Furthermore, the music of the refrain is not related to that of the strophe. Although the refrain has a continuous eight-line text, musically and metrically it is composed of a four-line unit repeated exactly.

Moniot de Paris's oeuvre is thus noteworthy for, among other things, its great structural diversity. On the basis of the evidence of his works, it can be seen that structure and form no longer function as determinants of genre. Moreover, it has been proposed that some of the structures used in his songs would seem to be influenced by sources from outside the Old French and Occitan repertoire.³² Although there are no detailed extant biographical records about Moniot de Paris, we might infer from his name that he had been a monk at some stage, in

³² Spanke has suggested that the model for certain of the structures used by Moniot can be traced to the contemporary Latin repertoire. See Spanke, 'Zur Geschichte des altfranzösischen Jeu-parti', 33.

which case he is likely to have had a clerical education. The interaction of a sacred or clerical dimension with vernacular art forms is well documented for this time, and clerics, particularly in Paris, are known to have been largely instrumental in bringing together the worlds of Latin and vernacular music, as Page's study of music in thirteenth-century France has eloquently demonstrated.³³

Moniot de Paris's melodic style

A number of distinctive characteristics recur in the melodies of Moniot de Paris. These include a tendency to set several syllables to a single repeated pitch, and a tendency to use sequential procedures, repeating a single melodic configuration at another pitch level: these sequences can be 'real' (i.e. involving the same intervals) or 'tonal' (where the shape is preserved but the semitones occur in different places).³⁴ The chanson 'Lonc tens ai mon tens usé' (see Ex. 5.5) is a *locus classicus* for both these procedures. Musically, the song is composed of a unit of four lines repeated exactly in the second four lines of the eight-line strophe (with an *ouvert* ending the first time and a *clos* ending on the repeat). The same music, with the *clos* ending, is repeated to the text of the refrain. The four-line musical unit, however, is composed essentially of only two melodic ideas. The first is that of line 1, consisting of a single repeated pitch that descends one step on the last syllable. This idea is repeated in sequence in lines 2 and 3. The second musical idea is that of line 4.³⁵ In general one of the most striking characteristics of Moniot's songs is the considerable amount of repetition of melodic material. From Table 5.1 it can be observed that, with the single exception of 'Qui veut amors', there are never more than four musical strains or ideas within the structure of the strophe and sometimes as few as two (as in 'Lonc tens'); and this is true even in the case of the fourteen-line strophe of 'L'autrier' and the seventeen-line strophe of 'Au nouviau tens'. Taking the music of the refrain into consideration, only in three instances does the music of strophe and refrain together have more than four musical strains.³⁶

In the preceding discussion on form and structure in Moniot's songs, it was observed that he does not identify any individual forms or structures with

³³ See Page, *The Owl and the Nightingale*.

³⁴ These melodic procedures are of course found in the compositional style of other trouvères: for example, the setting of several consecutive syllables to a single repeated pitch is also a feature of the melodic style of Chastelain de Coucy (see the latter's chanson 'A vous, amant, plus k'a nulle autre gent', R/S 679).

³⁵ A similar procedure is employed in the refrain of 'L'autrier par un matinet' (see Ex. 5.2).

³⁶ The three instances in question are the *pastourelles* 'L'autrier par un matinet' and 'Au nouviau tens' and the KNP version of 'Qui veut amors'. The R version of this song has only four musical strains.

particular genres. In fact, to a certain extent, characteristic genre–structure associations are subverted: for instance, the only two isometric structures in his entire output occur in his *pastourelles*—a genre that traditionally tended to be heterometric. Nor in his melodic style is there any attempt to highlight genre distinctions. On the contrary, the consistency in the character of his melodies serves to give his entire output a uniformity, directness, and simplicity of style, which is very different from the distinctive courtly high style of earlier trouvères. All of his melodies are syllabic and, as mentioned above, they tend to show a decided penchant for ‘tonal’ gestures. While the music–text relationships in the setting of the texts are not always particularly subtle, in general the melodic phrasing tends to coincide with the units of the poetic lines, thereby articulating and reinforcing the strong metrical accents of the poetry which occur at the end of each line. This fact, together with the ‘tonal’ angularity of the melodies, the syllabic settings, and the shortness of the poetic lines, all contrive to give the melodies a strong rhythmic impetus.

None of the melodies is notated mensurally in the manuscripts, but it is in connection with melodic style of this type that rhythmic interpretation can most convincingly be proposed. In the *pastourelle* ‘A une ajournée’ (Ex. 5.1), for instance, the setting is entirely syllabic and consequently attention is focused in performance on the metrical accentuation of the text to a greater extent than in a melismatic chanson. Because of the shortness of the lines (with no strong internal accent such as that produced by a caesura) and the regularity of the construction, the principal metrical accent at the end of the line produces what amounts to a regular pulse, which is underlined by the ‘tonal’ angularity of the melody (for instance the metrical accent on ‘... trier’ in line 2 is emphasized by the leap of a fourth to the ‘tonic’ note). While various interpretations might be offered for the passages between these strong accents, all interpretations that observe the strong accents will be broadly similar, because of the shortness of the lines and the syllabic setting. The interpretations offered in Ex. 5.8(a), (b), and (c) for the first two lines of ‘A une ajournée’ are feasible, and reasonably sympathetic to the text. On the other hand, the interpretation of Ex. 5.8(d) negates the pulse inherent in the setting, and provides an incorrect accentuation for individual words, e.g. *ajornée* instead of ‘ajournée’. The binary transcription in Ex. 5.8(c) is also perfectly feasible, and is as sympathetic to the text as any of the ternary interpretations. It should be noted in this regard that although most rhythmic interpretations of medieval music have been clouded by the obsession of medieval theorists with the notation of ternary rhythms, these treatises, for the most part, do not deal with secular repertoires. There is no theoretical evidence for interpreting such melodies in binary rhythms; nor, however, is there any evidence against such a practice. It is suggestive that the use of binary

rhythms is associated with the thirteenth-century repertoire of Galician-Portuguese songs, namely, the *Cantigas de Santa María*, compiled at the court of Alfonso X of Castille and Leon, a repertoire that is replete with refrain forms.

Given the stylistic uniformity of Moniot de Paris's melodic style, it is not surprising that his chansons share the same 'rhythmic' impulse as the *pastourelle* 'A une ajornée'. In 'Lonc tens' (Ex. 5.5) the syllabic setting, regular construction, and strong accent on the final accented syllable produce a similar effect to that in 'A une ajornée' (Ex. 5.1). Perhaps even more than in the latter, the departing from a single repeated pitch only on the final accented syllable in lines 1, 2, and 3 in 'Lonc tens' gives these lines a feeling of anacrusis to the emphatic accent on the last syllable. Also, as in 'A une ajornée', a binary interpretation is perhaps equally feasible, although the manuscript O, which, as discussed in Chapter 2, is notable for its attempts to 'mensuralize' some of its melodies, clearly suggests a ternary (short-long) interpretation (see Pl. 11 and binary and ternary interpretations in Ex. 5.9(a) and (b), the latter being the correct interpretation in this instance).

While the question of rhythmic interpretation in the troubadour and trouvère repertoire must remain open, it is clear that rhythmic theories that do not take account of stylistic considerations cannot be taken seriously. In the light of such widely different styles as, for instance, in the chansons of Moniot de Paris and those of Dargies (or between the *pastourelles* of Erart and the chansons of Adam de la Halle) it is unlikely that a single solution can be found or should be sought. The simple style and syllabic setting of Moniot de Paris's songs and his leaning towards lower-style elements (in both melody and text) would suggest that rhythm may have been a much more important consideration in this new style than it was in the older, more complex, and melismatic melodies of Dargies.

Moniot's output therefore represents a substantial change in musical taste in the middle of the thirteenth century. There was a blurring of genre distinctions where the aesthetic, themes, and forms of formerly distinct genres were merged to create a new lighter, simpler, and more direct style. As we have seen in the works of Moniot, melody had no small part to play in this and it is for this reason that we turn briefly to a consideration of this new 'lighter' style in the unique melodic variants presented in certain of the sources of the extant manuscript tradition.

The Unique Melodic Versions in A, V, and R

On the basis of content, presentation, and notation, the sources A, V, and R can be seen to belong to what was described in Chapter I as the 'second phase' of the manuscript tradition. It was observed, for example, with regard to the transmission

of the works of the last seminal figure in the trouvère tradition, Adam de la Halle, that while his songs are not included in the early phase of the extant written tradition, except as separate appended collections as in **T** and **P**,³⁷ they are incorporated into the main body of the slightly later chansonniers such as **R**, **V**, and **A**. While it is true that in the remarkably unified transmission of Adam's songs **R**, **V**, and **A** present the most variation in melodic versions of individual chansons, they do, in general, present the same basic melodies as in the other sources. By contrast, the melodic versions that these manuscripts present of earlier trouvère songs differ widely in structure, form, and style from the basic melodies found in the other sources. The discussion of individual melodic versions in these chansonniers has been postponed in order that they might be considered more fully here in the context of a discussion of larger questions pertaining to all three sources. The purpose of the present discussion is twofold: to examine the nature of the variant melodies in these three late sources and to reassess its significance against the background of the preceding discussion of the changes in taste and musical style in trouvère melody in the middle of the thirteenth century. The following observations will be based on the melodies these three sources present for the songs of Dargies, Audefroï le Bastard, Moniot d'Arras, and Moniot de Paris.

Melodic variants in the Arras chansonnier

Of the four trouvères mentioned above, only Dargies is represented in the incomplete source **A**, where a collection of six of his songs occurs on fos. 156–157^v, each of which survives otherwise in three to eight sources.³⁸ In five of the six songs in question, **A** offers a markedly different melody from the other sources. Of these five, 'La gens dient' (whose text speaks of how others complain that his songs are difficult to remember) is a rather unusual case in that each of the extant five sources for this song presents a different melodic formulation. Nonetheless, the **A** melody is worth considering for its own merits. First, it is the only one of the five melodies which is in the conventional bar form (ABAB X...), with a repetition of the melody of the first two lines in the third and fourth lines. The **A** version is further characterized by its markedly less melismatic setting.

In 'Chançon ferai' (see Ex. 4.1), because of the very melismatic character of the basic melody in **KNPX**, **T**, and **a** (with neumes of five, six, and seven notes), the stark syllabic setting in **A** is even more striking than in the **A** setting of 'La gens dient'. As in the latter, the syllabic melody of 'Chançon ferai' in **A** has a logic and

³⁷ The text only of one song by Adam occurs in **U**, but not in the earliest layer of the manuscript.

³⁸ 'Maintes fois' and 'Humilitez et franchise' each occur in four sources, **U**, **T**, **M**, **A** and **T**, **M**, **a**, **A**, respectively; 'La gens dient' occurs in five sources, **U**, **T**, **M**, **a**, **A**; 'Chançon ferai' occurs in eight sources: **KNPX**, **M**, **T**, **a**, **A**; and 'Quant li tans pert sa chalour' occurs in nine sources: **KNPX**, **M**, **T**, **R**, **V**, **A**.

character of its own, albeit in marked contrast to the readings in the main formulation. It should further be noted, however, that although the *A* setting shares the characteristic of being syllabic with the melody supplied by a later scribe in *M*, it is very different indeed from that melody. The mensural melody in *M* (see Ex. 4.1) has an angularity and rigidity of construction, with the melodic phrase accompanying each poetic line articulated with a rest, which is particularly injurious to Dargies's predilection for enjambement (as, for instance, between lines 4 and 5 of this song). By contrast, the melody of *A* is much more fluid in its structure. As can be seen from Ex. 5.10, the melody of the entire strophe is generated by the reworking, development, and manipulation of material presented in lines 1 and 2 of the song. This type of organic structure is redolent of oral 'compositional' art, and offers considerable flexibility for subtle variation of the melody itself and of melodic phrasing. In the context of the present discussion it can be stated that although the melody of *A* could hardly be mistaken as being in the complex florid style of Dargies, it has an elegance of construction in its simplicity and directness which is not alien to the high-style courtly tradition.

Three other Dargies chansons are transmitted in *A*: 'Maintes foiz', 'Humilitez et franchise', and 'Quant li tans'. In the case of the first two, *A* has unique melodies but formulated in a manner similar to 'Chançon ferai'; however, in the case of 'Quant li tans', *A* has the same 'basic melody' as that found in the other sources. Why should *A* have the same melody as the other sources for one song and totally divergent melodies for the remainder? Is it merely a question of transmission whereby for some reason the scribe was acquainted with, or had access to, the melody of only one Dargies song ('Quant li tans') but not to the melodies of the others? Or could the explanation relate, at least in part, to the fact that the 'basic melody' of 'Quant li tans' is noticeably less melismatic than the melodies of most of the other Dargies songs? It is conceivable that the melody of 'Quant li tans' appealed to the scribe of *A* and was duly copied, but because the other melodies were too 'heavy', melismatic, and 'old-fashioned', the scribe discarded them and invented new, 'less cumbersome' melodies for the texts of these Dargies songs in accordance with current taste. See Ex. 2.3 for a reproduction of the notation of this song in *R* which is the same basic melody as that found in *A* (and in the other sources), apart from a widely divergent reading in the last line of the song in *R*.

The melodic variants of R and V

The trouvère most represented in these two chansonniers from among the four under consideration is Moniot d'Arras. Before examining the melodic readings of his songs in this manuscript, however, let us first consider briefly the handful

of melodies by the other three trouvères in one or both of these sources. In the transmission of Dargies's chansons only 'Quant li tans' is found in **V**; this chanson also occurs in **R**, as does one other Dargies chanson, 'Autres que'.³⁹ In 'Autres que', although the melody of **R** retains an overall AAB form, it is otherwise completely different from the 'basic melody' found in the other sources. The **R** setting is almost entirely syllabic, which is in marked contrast to the melismatic character of the other readings. The melodic shape and range is also totally different in **R**: whereas the 'basic melody' in the other sources is quite expansive, spanning the range of an octave within individual lines, most of the individual lines in the **R** melody remain within the range of a fourth or a fifth. In 'Quant li tans', the only chanson in which **A** does not have a melody which is widely divergent from the other readings, both **R** and **V** also have the same 'basic melody' as all the other manuscripts.

None of the songs of Audefroï le Bastard or Moniot de Paris occurs in **V**, but one by each trouvère occurs in **R**. In 'Bien doi faire' by Bastard the **R** melody is again totally unrelated to the 'basic melody' found in **T** and **M** (see Ex. 3.10). In this instance also, the **R** melody is perfectly logical in itself and constructed in an overall AAB form, like the other readings. However, everything else about the **R** melody of this chanson is unrelated to the 'basic melody' and, again, one is immediately struck by the contrast between the largely neumatic setting of the 'core' melody and the stark syllabic setting of **R**. The single chanson by Moniot de Paris found in **R** is 'Qui veut amors maintenir': since it survives otherwise only in **KNP** there is little scope for comparison. Both melodies are syllabic, which one might well expect on the basis of the settings of his other songs, but the two melodic formulations are essentially different.

The chansons of Moniot d'Arras are well represented in both **R** and **V**: **R** has five songs and **V** has six (which include three of the five found in **R**). The two songs featured in **R** and not in **V** are 'Ne me done pas talent' and 'A ma dame ai pris congié'. In the latter the 'basic melody' is represented in the manuscripts **KNPX**, **M**, **O**, and **T**, although **T** features a number of significant variations, particularly towards the end of the chanson. Once again the melody of **R** is very different from the readings in the other sources in its pitch centres, range, tessitura, and shape. Furthermore, **R** has the standard form, AAB, whereas the basic melody in the other manuscripts is structured on a few subtle melodic figures that are manipulated in a number of ways throughout the song, while having no large-scale repetition. In 'Ne me done pas talent' the **R** melody is again unique. It differs from the 'core' melody in similar ways to 'A ma dame'

³⁹ The song 'Se j'ai esté' also occurs in both of these manuscripts, and in each there is a unique melody.

except that in 'Ne me done' both the **R** melody and the 'basic melody' of the other sources have a large-scale AAB structure.

In the three Moniot d'Arras songs found in **V** and not in **R**, one, 'Encore a si grand poissance', presents a situation by now familiar, whereby the formal structure, tonal character, and syllabic setting are totally different in the melody of **V** than in the basic melody found in the other eight sources.⁴⁰ The second song, 'Ce fu en mai' (Ex. 5.11), is noteworthy in that it is the only *pastourelle* attributed to Moniot, although it should be pointed out that this attribution is dubious.⁴¹ The song survives only in **V** and in the **KNPX** group. The **KNPX** melody is decidedly different in style from the melodies of Moniot d'Arras's other songs, understandably since it is in a different genre: its melody is syllabic (in contrast to the neumatic character of Moniot's courtly songs) and is palpably 'lighter' in style, with balanced phrases and much large-scale repetition. The **KNPX** melody of lines 1–3 is repeated in lines 4–6, with an *ouvert* ending at the end of line 3 and a *clos* ending in line 6; and in the second part of the song the melody of lines 7–9 is repeated exactly in lines 10–12. The song therefore has an overall form of AA'BB. It is also noteworthy that in the **KNPX** melody the B strain is made up of three phrases generated by a sequence technique similar to that observed in the melodic style of Moniot de Paris. The melody of **V**, while also syllabic in its setting and 'light' in style, is unrelated to the **KNPX** melody. Its overall formal structure is A (lines 1–3), B (4–6), C (7–9), A' (10–12). This schematic representation does not reveal that the final section integrates elements of A and C: lines 10 and 11 are the same as lines 1 and 2 and line 12 is a variant of line 9 from the C section. Finally, in the third song found in **V** and not in **R**, 'Boine amour sans trecherie', the **V** setting has the same 'basic melody' as that found in the other sources.

The three songs by Moniot d'Arras that feature in both **R** and **V** are 'Nus n'a joi', 'Amours n'est pas que c'on die', and 'Li dous termine'. In the case of the first two of these songs, **R** and **V** present unique melodies that differ from the basic melody of the other sources in style and structure and in their less neumatic settings. For instance, in overall formal structure the **R** melody for 'Nus n'a joi' is in AAB form while the 'basic melody' in the other readings is not; and the **V** and **R** melodic settings for 'Amours n'est pas' differs in pitch centres, range, tessitura, and shape from the 'basic melody' in **K(NX)**, **M**, and **a**. In the third song, 'Li dous termine', **R** differs from the basic melody of the other readings but **V**, while presenting some variants (especially in line 8), is more closely related to the

⁴⁰ **KNPX**, **L**, **M**, **T**, and **O**. See van der Werf's edition of this song in *Trouvères-Melodien I & II* (MMA 11–12; Kassel, 1977–9), ii, 316–26.

⁴¹ See *Moniot*, ed. Dyggve, 26.

'basic melody', in its end notes and in the structurally important pitches and intervals. **V** also retains the neumatic character of the 'basic melody', even if it does suppress some of the longer ligatures, replacing them instead with shorter neumes.

What conclusions can be drawn from an examination of the melodic variants of the songs of Dargies, Bastard, Moniot de Paris, and Moniot d'Arras presented in **R** and **V**? The melodies **R** and **V** transmit for these trouvères are all unique, with the exception of one Dargies song, 'Quant li tans' (transmitted in **R** and **V**), and two songs by Moniot d'Arras: 'Boine amour sans trecherie' (transmitted in **R** and **V**) and 'Li dous termine' (transmitted in **V**). With regard to the nature of the variants, the single overwhelming feature is that all of the melodies are syllabic (or in a few cases, noticeably less melismatic) than the 'basic melodies' presented in the other sources. It is particularly intriguing that no single pattern emerges in relation to the formal divergence in the versions of **R** and **V**: if the 'basic melody' is in AAB form, these manuscripts often present melodies not in that form and vice versa.

Because of the high instance of unique melodies in **R** and **V** these chansonniers have been regarded as unreliable or irrelevant. **R** in particular has been dismissed by Räkel as containing 'Phantasie-Melodien'.⁴² Clearly there is little possibility that all of the unique melodies in **R** and **V** are 'authentic' settings by the authors of the texts. But the melodies cannot be dismissed as 'Phantasie-Melodien', nor, as Räkel further asserts, can **R** be regarded as merely an artificial imitation of a chansonnier. In the first instance, some of the melodies are concordant with the readings in other manuscripts; therefore, **R** and **V** cannot be regarded as being totally separate from the main manuscript tradition. Moreover, the fact that three different sources (with different scribes) present a striking consistency, in that the unique melodies they each transmit tend to be in a more direct, syllabic, and, in some instances, more 'tonally oriented' style, strongly suggests that, collectively, they are symptomatic of changing taste. This changing taste is independently manifest in the authentic melodies of Erart and Paris, dating from the middle decades of the thirteenth century. The fact that **R**, **V** (and **A**) share a stylistic homogeneity, but that the actual melodies presented in these manuscripts are divergent, suggests that they not only represent a change in taste, but also that they are a witness to a fashion current in the latter part of the thirteenth century, whereby the early trouvère repertoire was resurrected and recomposed in this new simpler and more direct style. This phenomenon is in one respect consistent with a pattern observed in oral repertoires throughout the world, whereby if the oral tradition is to survive it adapts to

⁴² *Die musikalische Erscheinungsform der Trouvèrepoesie*, 339.

changing taste, aesthetics, or other circumstances. B. Marischal de Rhett's comments on a tradition of romances which has survived from the Middle Ages are of relevance in this regard:

Romances, like all other oral traditions that live in the collective memory of the people, must fulfill some social function with the communities that retain them in order to survive the overpowering intrusion of the more prestigious literary forms... As the environment changes *romances* adapt structurally and functionally to those changes in order to remain in the tradition.⁴³

It would be understandable therefore that, in the latter part of the thirteenth century (R, V, and A all date from the end of thirteenth/early fourteenth century), and after the changes witnessed in the works of Erart and Moniot de Paris, it might have been desirable to 'update' or 'give new life' to the older songs that had survived from up to a hundred years before to make them more relevant to current taste.

Schwan has proposed that the manuscript R may have been connected with a *puy*;⁴⁴ It is certainly true that (as mentioned in Ch. 2) the lack of formal organization and the somewhat slipshod presentation of both melodies and text, in contrast to that in the other chansonniers, would suggest that they were more hastily compiled than other manuscripts, and it is at least feasible that their apparently hasty compilation may be connected in some way with the attempt to record live performances.

It would appear that during the middle decades of the thirteenth century there was a decided change in taste: this was manifest on the one hand in the increasing popularity of low-style genres, as witnessed in the output of Jehan Erart, which features as many *pastourelles* as courtly songs. As the century progressed it would appear that many aspects of the low-style genres infiltrated the forms, language, and rhetoric of the chanson: refrain forms became increasingly popular (as in the chansons of Moniot de Paris) and even the very concept of courtly love underwent a change in its new bourgeois environment. Above all, however, the most telling manifestation of the change in style and taste is in the gradual change in melodic style, the very vehicle of expression of the songs: a new simpler and more direct style is manifest not only in the works of individual trouvères such as Erart and Moniot de Paris, but also in the unique melodies of R, V, and A. This change of style must be seen in the context of the diverse social

⁴³ B. M. de Rhett, 'Structure and Functions of Oral Tradition', *Oral Tradition*, 2 (1987), 645–66 at 646.

⁴⁴ Schwan, *Die altfranzösischen Liederhandschriften*, 260. But Räkel (*Die musikalische Erscheinungsform*, 338–9) disagrees with this suggestion, saying that a 'Beispielsammlung' from a *puy* would not have 'Phantasie-Melodien'.

and musical developments in thirteenth-century France, where there was a confluence not only of low and high cultures, but also of sacred and secular, of folk music and 'art' music. The merging of all of these various aspects, which gave rise to the birth of new genres of vernacular music, most notably the motet, was no doubt partly responsible for the decline of the traditional courtly song tradition.

One of the consequences of the evolution of new polyphonic genres was the increasing need to invest the new music with a strong rhythmic identity (in order to coordinate the different voices) and, as individual voice parts became more independent (having not only different rhythms but also different texts), it was necessary to evolve more sophisticated methods of notation. It was observed in Chapter I that most of the manuscripts from the second stage of the written transmission betray signs of the influence of mensural notational systems, with which the scribes were undoubtedly becoming more familiar. Given the background of these musical and notational developments in other genres during the thirteenth century, it is perhaps no mere coincidence that the simpler syllabic melodic style of the unique melodies in **R**, **V**, and **A** are more readily adaptable to rhythmic and metrical interpretation than the more melismatic and expansive melodies of the older style.

Ex. 5.I. 'A une ajournée / Chevauchai l'autrier' (R/S 492): K, p. 191

1. A une a - - jor - - né - - e 2. Che - - vou - - chai l'au - - trier,

3. En u - - ne va - - lé - - e 4. Pres de mon sen - - tier

5. Pas - - tore ai trou - - vé - - e 6. Qui fet a proi - - sier;

7. Ma - - tin s'iert le - - vé - - e 8. Pour es - - ba - - noi - - er.

9. Bele ert et se - - né - - e 10. Je l'ai sa - - lu - - é - - e;

11. Plus ert co - - lo - - ré - - e 12. Que flor de ro - - sier.

Ex. 5.2. 'L'autrier par un matinet, / Un jor de l'autre semaine' (R/S 965): K, pp. 193-4

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 1 2 3 4 5 6 7

K

1. L'au-trier par un ma-ti-net, 2. Un jor de l'au-tre se-mai-ne,

3. Che-vau-chai joste un bos-chet 4. Comme a-ven-tu-re gent mai-ne.

5. Par de-joste un jar-di-net, 6. Soz le ru d'u-ne fon-tai-ne,

7. Choi-si en un pra-e-let 8. Pas-to-re qui mult ert sai-ne,

9. Et d'au-tre part Ro-bi-net 10. Qui grant po-né-e de-mai-ne;

11. Pipe a-voit et fla-jo-let, 12. Si fla-jole a douce a-lai-ne,

13. Car puor Mar-gue-rot se pai-ne 14. Qui plus ert blan-che que lai-ne.

15. Ro-bi-net chante et fres-te-le 16. Et trepe et crie et sau-te-le,

17. Mar-got en chan-tant a-pe-le.

II. Robins estoit assez biax
 Et la pastorete bele
 Robins est biax davadiax
 Et bele ert la pastorele.
 Car blons avoit les cheviaus
 Et durete la mamele,
 Robins ert biaux garçonciax

Si s'en cointoie et revele;
 Petit avoient d'aigniax
 Et grand iere la praele,
 Lors fu sonez li frestiaus
 Par desouz la fontenele
 Lors leur joie renouvele
 Robins oste sa gonnele.
Robinet chante et frestele
Et trepe et crie et sautele.
Margot en chantant apele.

III. Onc ne vi en mon vivant
 Si tres bele pastorete
 Vair oeil ot, bouche riant,
 Biau menton, bele gorgete,
 Cainturete bien seant,
 Biax braz et bele mainete;
 Bele ert deriere et devant,
 Biax piez et bele janbete.
 Robins aloit par devant
 Qui disoit en sa musete
 Un sonet mult avenant
 Pour l'amor la pastorete;
 'Dex doint bon jor m'amïete
 Li cuers pour li me haliète.'
 [*Robinet chante ...*]

IV. Tant menerent leur degraz
 Li bergiers et la bergiere,
 Qu'il chaïrent braz a braz
 Entr'els deus seur la feuchiere;
 Quant les vi cheer en bas
 Un petit me tres arriere
 Mult orent de leur solaz
 Cele l'ot chier, cil l'ot chiere.
 Je ne sai li quels fu laz,
 Mes chascuns fist bele chiere,
 Cil est bien enamoras
 Qui d'amors a joie entiere,
 Cil a amors droituriere.
 []
 [*Robinet chante ...*]

Ex. 5.3. (a) 'Je chevauchioie l'autrier / Seur la rive de Saingne (R/S 1255): K, pp. 192–3;
(b) 'Pour mon cuer resleecier': K, p. 199

(a)

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 1 2 3 4 5 6 7

8 1. Je che - vau - choi - e l'au - trier 2. Seur la ri - ve de Sain - gne.

(b)

8 1. Pour mon cuer res - le - e - cier 2. Vueil u - ne chan - con fe - re;

8 3. Da - me de - joste un ver - gier 4. Vi plus blan - che que lai - ne;

8 3. Chan - ter vous vueil sanz ten - cier 4. D'u - ne mult de - bon - ai - re

8 5. Chan - con prist a con - men - cier 6. Sou - ef, a douce a - lai - ne.

8 5. Qui j'ai - me de cuer en - tier, 6. Or dont dex q'il i pai - re!

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11

8 7. Mult dou - ce - ment li o - ï dire et no - ter:

8 7. Cer - tez, ja de li a - mer ne se - rai las,

8 8. 'Ho - nitz, soit qui a vi - lain me fist do - ner!

8 8. Car ele a tres - tout mon cuer pris en ses laz;

8 9. J'aim mult melz, un pou de joie a de - me - ner

8 9. Se li cous de - voit a - voir brui - siez, les braz

8 10. Que mil mars d'ar - gent a - voir et puis plo - rer.'

8 10. Si a - vrai je de sa fa - me mes de - graz.

Ex. 5.4. 'Li tens qui raverdoie' (R/S 1756): K, pp. 194–5

1. Li tens qui ra - ver - doi - e 2. Et la ro - se nou - ve - le

3. Fet mon cuer estre en joi - e, 4. Si que touz en sau - te - le.

5. Ta - lent m'est pris de chan - ter, 6. Car bone a - mour m'en se - mont.

7. Jo - lis cuers mi fet pen - ser 8. A la plus be - le du mont,

9. Pu - ce - le de biau jou - vent: 10. Tant est be - le que sou - vent

11. Ai **puor** li mon cuer mu - é.

12. Li do - riaux, va li do - re - le, 13. Li do - riaux, va li do - ré.

II. Melz aim que ne soloie;
 Or mi point l'estencele
 Qui les amanz guerroe
 Vole mi, arondele;
 La blondete saluer
 A qui touz mes pensers sont,
 Helas, je n'i os aler
 S'en souspir de cuer parfont.
 De li qu'a li tout me rent
 Je sui siens si ligement
 Tout mon cuer li ai doné.
Li doriaus, va li dorele
Li doriaus, va li doré.

III. Siens sui ou que je soie
 Ce n'est mie favele;
 Ne sai que fere en doie

S'a s'amor ne m'apele.
En li n'a riens que blasmer
C'est ce qui plus mi confont:
Bele bouche, biau vis cler,
Biau chief, biaux euz et biau front,
Cainturete bien seant,
Dure mamele poignant,
Cors bien fet et bien mollé.

[*Li doriaus ...*]

IV. La rose qui rojoie
M'a bien mis en berele,
Qu'eschaper n'en porroie
Pour tout l'or de Tudele;
Mon cuer a fet souslever
Et penser en si haut mont
Que n'i porroie monter.
Donc di je que traï m'ont
Li biau tens et li douz vent
Car trop est de haut couvent
Cele a qui m'ont assené.

[*Li doriaus ...*]

V. Je ne mi plainderoie
Plus de ceste querele
Se je avoir pouoie
L'amor a la dancele.
Lors avroie le cuer cler
Je seroie plus liez dont
Que s'on me voloit doner
Trestout l'avoir de cest mont.
Merci, bele, a vous me rent
Retenez moi ligement:
Mult m'avroiz fet de bonté.

[*Li doriaus ...*]

Ex. 5.5. 'Lonc tens ai mon tens usé' (R/S 457): O, fo. 80; K, pp. 191-2

1. Lons tens ai mon tens u - - sé 2. Et a fo - li - e mu - sé,

3. Quant ce - le m'a re - fu - sé 4. Que j'ai tant a - mé - e.

5. Bien cui - dai s'a - mor a - voir 6. Par fo - lie ou par sa - voir;

e - le

7. Mes el dit pour nul a - voir 8. N'iert de moi pri - vé - e.

9. Va - du, va - du, va - du, va! 10. Be - le, je vos aim pie - ça;

11. Vostre a - mor m'a - fo - le - ra, 12. S'el ne m'est do - né - e.

II. Je ne sai que devenir
 Quant je ne puis avenir
 A cele que tant desir
 Tant mes cuers i bee;
 Languir m'estuet, ce m'est vis
 Sa bouchete, ses clers vis
 Si douz regart, si douz ris

M'ont la mort donee.
Vadu, vadu, vadu, va!
Bele, je vos aim pieça;
Vostre amor m'afolera
S'el ne m'est donée.

III. Bele, que je n'os nommer
Se g'estoie outre la mer
Si voudroie je amer
Vous et vo faiture.
Je sui vestres sanz mentir
Je ne m'en puis departir
Et si m'avez fet sentir
Mainte paine dure.
[*Vadu ...*]

IV. Douce amie, je requier
Vostre amor plus ne vous qier;
Mon cuer avez tout entier
Douce creature,
Cors et avoir ensement
Ci a bel eschangement:
Bien doit aler malement
Qui de tel n'a cure.
[*Vadu ...*]

V. Douce amïete plesant
Je ne puis estre tésant
Ainz sui je pour vous fesant
Ceste vadurie.
Je sui mult pour vos bleciez
Se vous morir mi lessiez
Vostre ame, bien le sachiez
Seroit maubaillie.
[*Vadu ...*]

Ex. 5.6. 'Au nouviau tens que n'est la violete' (R/S 987): K, pp. 196-7

K

1. Au nou - viau tens que nest la vi - o - le - te

2. Per - mi ces prez et mainte au - tre flo - re - te,

3. Sor - pris de nou - vele a - mor 4. Vueil fe - re chan - co - ne - te,

5. Si la fe - rai sanz se - jor 6. Cor - toise et mi - gno - ne - te.

7. A - vant hier, au point du jour, 8. Un pou de - vant la cha - lor,

9. Er - rai ma sen - te - le - te. 10. Pas - to - re - te sanz pas - tor,

11. Blan - che - te, de bel a - tor, 12. Vi sor u - ne cou - dre - te:

13. I - luec mi - roit sa co - lor 14. Et sa blan - che gor - ge - te

15. Tou - te seule en cel des - tor 16. Di - soit sa no - te - le - te,

17. Si n'i de - mo - ra plus: 18. Dex doint ma - le nuit la gue - te

19. Qui dit: 'Sus, or - sus, or - sus!' 20. Ainz que jor soit ve - nuz.

Ex. 5.7. 'Quant je oi chanter l'aloete' (R/S 969): K, p. 198

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8

1. Quant je oi chan-ter l'a-lo-e-te 2. Pour la ve-nu-e du tens cler,

3. Lors mi se-mont une a-mo-re-te 4. De chan-con fere et de chan-ter.

5. D'u-ne pu-ce-le-te 6. Fe-rai chan-co-ne-te,

7. Qui mult est sa-de-te 8. Je l'aim sanz faus-ser:

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8

9. Be-le la bou-che-te, 10. Co-lor ver-meil-le-te;

11. Tant la voi sa-de-te 12. Que n'i puis du-rer.

13. Or voi je bien que sanz, mo-rir, 14. Ne por-rai ces maus en-du-rer;

15. S'e-le mi let en-si fe-nir, 16. Tout li mons l'en-de-vroit blas-mer.

17. D'u-ne pu-ce-le-te

Ex. 5.8. Possible rhythmic interpretations of 'A une ajournée / Chevauchai l'autrier'
(R/S 492)

(a)

1. A une a jor - - ne - e 2. Che - vau - chai l'au - trier,
3. En u - ne va - - le - e 4. Pres de mon sen - tier

(b)

(c)

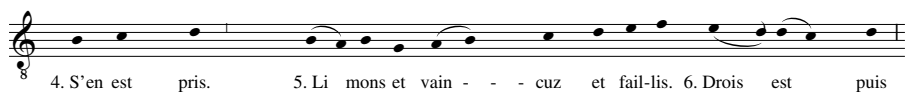
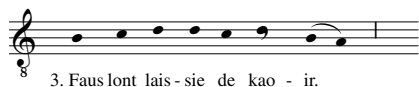
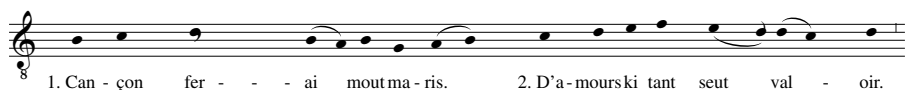
(d)

Ex. 5.9. Possible rhythmic interpretations of 'Lonc tens ai mon tens usé' (R/S 457)

(a)

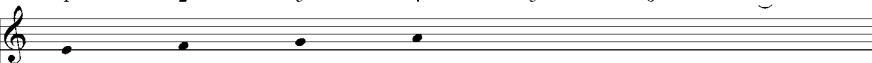
(b)


Ex. 5.10. Unique version of 'Chançon ferai mout maris' (R/S 1565): A, fo. 157




Ex. 5.11. 'Ce fu en mai' (R/S 94): V, fo. 82; K, p. 135

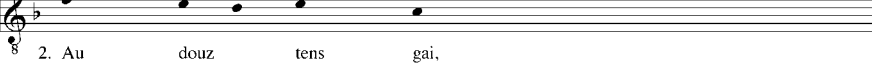
1 2 3 4 5 6

V 

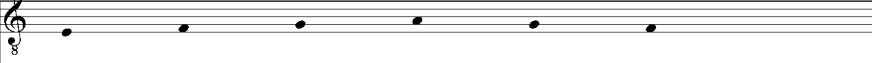
K 


1. Ce fu en mai

V 


K 

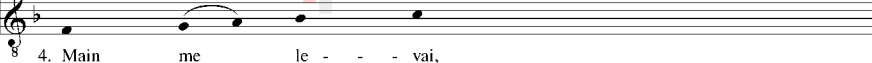
2. Au douz tens gai,

V 


K 


3. Que la se - - - son est bel - - - le

V 


K 


4. Main me le - - - vai,

V 

K 

5. Jo èr m'a - - - lai


V 


K 

6. Lez u - - - ne fon - - - te - - - nel - - - le.


Ex. 5.II. (cont.)

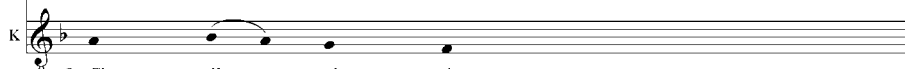
1 2 3 4 5 6

V 


K 


7. En un ver - - gier

V 


K 


8. Clos d'e - - glen - - tier

V 


K 


9. O - - - i u - - - ne vi - - - el - - - le;

V 


K 


10. La vi - - - dan - - - cier

V 

K 

11. Un che - - - va - - - lier

V 

K 

12. Et u - - - ne da - - - moi - - - se - - - le.



The Interaction of Oral, Written, and Literate Processes

One of most dramatic developments to take place during the thirteenth century was the spread in learning and, in particular, the laicization of the book. There was a vast increase in the production of books and especially those in the vernacular. Bernhard Bischoff, Brian Stock, Simon Gaunt, and others have commented in different contexts about the emerging 'centrality of writing in medieval French culture' from the twelfth century onwards and the tendency 'to privilege the written word over the spoken word'.¹ Although by the time the production of the extant books containing the trouvère lyric repertoire was undertaken the tradition was in many regards in decline, literacy nonetheless had an influence not only in the transmission of this repertoire, but also, to a degree, on some facets of the development of the later repertoire. Perhaps one of the most striking manifestations of the intervention of the written word is in the considerable body of contrafacta produced.

¹ See Gaunt, *Retelling the Tale*, 20. See also B. Stock, *The Implications of Literacy: Written Language and Models of Interpretation in the Eleventh and Twelfth Centuries* (Princeton, 1983); M. T. Clanchy documents a similar shift in his study of England at this period: *From Memory to Written Record: England 1066–1307* (London, 1979); and D. Green documents a similar trend in Germany in his study *Medieval Listening and Reading: The Primary Reception of German Literature 800–1300* (Cambridge, 1994). Bernhard Bischoff also makes the following comment: 'With the entry into the gothic period the medieval book system experiences the most profound changes in its entire history. If, up to that time, it was bound up with clerical institutions (the monasteries and chapters), now new forces were at work which resulted in an enormous increase in book production: the scholarly activities that were organised in the universities, the increased practice of preaching, the deepening of religious life through mysticism, above all in the female religious orders, the spread of written education among the laity, and their interest in literature, especially in the vernaculars. Writing, of course, still continued in the religious communities, but a large part of the professional production of books passed over to the civilian professional scribes in the cities.' *Paläographie des römischen Altertums und des abendländischen Mittelalters* (1979), translated by Dáibhí Ó Cróinín and David Ganz as *Latin Palaeography: Antiquity and the Middle Ages* (Cambridge, 1990), 224.

Contrafacta

Contrary to what one might expect, written transmission is not necessarily more accurate or stable than oral transmission. Not only can written transmission be less reliable than something committed securely to memory, but it multiplies the possibilities for corruption. It also increases the possibilities of making contrafacta since large bodies of material are made available. The process of borrowing material is not, of course, purely a written phenomenon: it clearly played a central role in the oral tradition of the *grande chanson courtoise*. From the beginning, metrical structures were borrowed from different songs, from the works of different troubadours and trouvères.² The practice of *intertextualité*, mentioned above in relation to the chansons of Gautier de Dargies, reflects a manifest desire to evoke the inherited tradition by borrowing, or perhaps more accurately, providing cross-references to pre-existing chansons.³ Individual trouvères are also known to have used pre-existing material from their own compositions. For example, in the more personal, *serventois*-like work 'Helas, il n'est mais nus qui n'aint' Adam de la Halle uses the melody and metrical structure of his chanson 'Helas, il n'est mais nus qui aint', the text of which deals with conventional courtly themes. Quite a different process is manifest in the unique melodies of V, R, and A, which are effectively contrafacta, using the texts of the original songs but providing entirely new melodies. The meaning of these contrafacta is complex (as discussed in Ch. 5) but in one respect they might be seen as a manifestation of the desire to update an oral tradition in an effort to make it more relevant to the contemporary society and to keep apace with changes in style. There is, however, a body of contrafacta in the extant manuscripts that would suggest that the written transmission may have played a greater role in their genesis. Because of the considerable number of contrafacta associated with the works of Moniot d'Arras, the present discussion will be restricted to these, and, in particular, to those instances where not only the metrical structure but also the melody is adopted in the contrafactum.

² This is amply demonstrated in the following studies: Mölk and Wolfzettel, *Répertoire métrique*, and I. Frank, *Répertoire métrique de la poésie des troubadours* (Paris, 1966). Considerable freedom was also manifested in the practice of adapting Occitan works for the northern French context: see M. Raupach and M. Raupach, *Französische Trobadordyrik: Zur Überlieferung provenzalischer Lieder in französischen Handschriften* (BzZRPph, 171; Tübingen, 1979); G. Le Vot, 'Les Chansons de troubadours du manuscrit fr. 20050 de la Bibliothèque Nationale', i: 'Etude' (Doctoral diss., 3e cycle, University of Paris IV, 1978); and V. Pollina, 'Troubadours dans le nord: Observations sur la transmission des mélodies occitanes dans les manuscrits septentrionaux', *RZL* 3 (1985), 263–78.

³ Intertextual references were also observed in the lower-style songs of Moniot de Paris (see Ch. 5).

Contrafacta of the melodic and metrical structure exist for five of Moniot d'Arras's songs: 'Boine amor sans trecherie', 'Amours n'est pas que on die', 'Ne me done pas talent', 'Li dous termine m'agree', and 'Chanconete a un chant legier'. The contrafacta of these chansons are variously by named or by anonymous trouvères. Although the works on which the contrafacta are based are all chansons, the contrafacta themselves are in a variety of genres (see Table 6.1): as well as *chansons d'amour*, there are *jeux-partis*, *pastourelles*, *chansons pieuses*,⁴ and two are used in anonymous motets. Two other of Moniot's chansons are themselves contrafacta of songs by other trouvères. 'De haut lieu muet la cançons', for which no melody survives, is a contrafactum of the metrical structure of 'Plaindre m'estuet' (R/S 319) by Robert de Reims,⁵ and Moniot's *chanson pieuse* 'Qui bien aime a tart oublié' is a contrafactum of an anonymous chanson, 'Quant voi venir la gelée' (R/S 517).

TABLE 6.1. *Contrafacta of songs by Moniot d'Arras*

Source melody	Contrafactum	Genre of contrafactum
R/S 490 Li dous termines	R/S 1191 Thumas Herier	<i>jeu-parti</i>
R/S 739 Ne me done	R/S 334 Phelipe, R/S 713 Mere au roi	<i>jeu-parti</i> <i>chanson pieuse</i>
R/S 1135 Amours n'est pas	R/S 1231 Amors, s'onques R/S 1183 Toy reclaim	<i>chanson</i> <i>chanson pieuse</i>
R/S 1216 Boine amor	R/S 631 Qui a chanter R/S 1203 C'est en mai R/S 1136 Por ce que R/S 2114 De la virge	<i>chanson</i> <i>pastourelle</i> <i>chanson pieuse</i> <i>chanson pieuse</i>
R/S 1285 Chanconete	R/S 793 Talens me rest	<i>chanson pieuse</i>

⁴ The texts of the *chansons pieuses* are edited in *Recueil de chansons pieuses du XIII^e siècle*, ed. E. Järnström and A. Langfors, 2 vols. (AASF, ser. B, 3 and 20 (Helsinki, 1910 and 1927)).

⁵ See *Moniot*, ed. Dyggve, 66.

Most of the contrafacta are preserved in the **KNPX** manuscript family and in the related source **V**; only two contrafacta are found in **i** (Paris, BNF fr. 12483—a manuscript source for Gautier de Coinci's *Les Miracles de Notre Dame* which contains interpolated 'religious' songs); and only one occurs in each of the manuscripts **T**, **a**, **Mt**, **R**, and **O**. For the most part, each of the contrafacta survives in one source only; the exceptions are the *jeu-parti* 'Phelipe, je vous demant' (a contrafactum of the chanson 'Ne me done pas talent' which survives in **K**, **X**, **V**, **R**, **O**, and **Mt**) and 'Amors s'onques en ma vie', which occurs in the **KNPX** group and in the related manuscript **V**.

There is considerable diversity in the relationships between the contrafacta and the source melodies, ranging from no apparent deviation whatsoever to considerably different reformulations. The chanson 'Amours n'est pas que on die' has two contrafacta: an anonymous contrafactum *chanson pieuse*, 'Toy reclaim, virge Marie' (found only in **i**), and the contrafactum chanson 'Amors, s'onques en ma vie' (occurring in **KNPX**, where it is falsely attributed to Moniot himself, and **V**). The **KNPX** reading for the melody of the second of these contrafactums is almost exactly the same in every detail as the source melody in that manuscript group. The manuscript **V** presents two unique melodies, one for the source song and one for the contrafactum: interestingly, the first half of line 5 of the contrafactum melody in **V** is exactly the same as the source melody in **KNPX** at this point. The *chanson pieuse* contrafactum in **i** is divergent from the basic formulation of the source melody only in the first part of line 9; otherwise it is essentially the same.

The anonymous contrafactum of 'Chançonete a un chant legier' is another *chanson pieuse*, 'Talent me rest pris de chanter', and survives in one source only, namely, **V**. Interestingly, given the previously observed tendency for **V** to have unique melodic versions, the **V** contrafactum melody in this instance has a closer relationship with one of the two melodies surviving for the original song, namely, the **T** reading, than this latter does to the second reading of the source melody in **M** (see Ex. 6.1; it should be noted that, in the original manuscript, the **T** reading is notated a second higher than in the transcription provided here). **V** does have some variants from **T**, most notably, end notes a second above or below those in **T** for lines 2, 3, and 4, 6, and 7. The different end notes do not alter the melody radically, however, since in these lines the melodies are otherwise the same, and the distinctive melodic leaps (as, for instance, in line 4) are preserved in both. Other local variants are introduced in **V**, such as the prefixing of the opening ascending minor third figure in lines 2 and 4 with the pitch a second lower, which, in both lines 2 and 4, is a repetition of the final pitch of the preceding line. Overall, the melody of **V** not only retains the integrity of the melodic style of the source melody but it 'reinvents' the melody in an informed

and idiomatic manner, and, perhaps most unexpectedly, its melodic formulation is even more neumatic than that of the source melody T.

The *jeu-parti* 'Thumas Herier, partie', which is a contrafactum of Moniot's chanson 'Li dous termines m'agrée', survives in one source only, namely T. The source chanson also occurs in T although its melodic reading is somewhat divergent (especially in lines 6, 7, 8, and 9) from the readings of the source melody in U (see Pl. 2), M (see Pl. 12), and K.⁶ The variants between the melody of the contrafactum and the source melody demonstrate that the contrafactum is based on the melody of U, M, and K rather than on the T reading. The rather complex array of manuscript interrelationships between the contrafactum melody and the readings of the source melody of this song suggest that some contrafacta, such as 'Thumas Herier' in T, enjoyed a separate transmission from the source song, and while aspects of the contrafactum melody (such as the divergence in line 3 and the concordance in line 10) bear the hallmarks of a written transmission, the slight variations in other lines betray a degree of 'reinvention' which is reminiscent of oral reformulation.

Two contrafacta survive for Moniot's chanson 'Ne me done pas talent': a *chanson pieuse* 'Mere au roi omnipotent' which survives in only one source, a, and a *jeu-parti* between Thibaut de Champagne and Phelipe de Nanteuil, 'Phelipe, je vous demant', which survives with music in six sources.⁷ With regard to the *chanson pieuse* contrafactum ('Mere au roi') surviving in a, a similar situation is found to that in the 'Thumas Herier' contrafactum of 'Li dous termines' discussed above, in that the source melody is also found in the same manuscript as the contrafactum, but the melodic formulation in the contrafactum is closer to the reading of the source melody found in other manuscripts than it is to the reading of the source melody in the same manuscript. In this instance both source melody and contrafactum are found in a but the contrafactum melody is closer to the M (and U) reading of the source melody than to that in a, though it does have characteristic variants of its own, demonstrating that it was not merely copied directly from one of the extant sources.

The other contrafactum of Moniot's 'Ne me done', the *jeu-parti*, had a wide dissemination, in comparison with all other surviving contrafacta of Moniot's songs. It survives in K, X, V, R, O, and in Mt (the separate collection of Thibaut de Champagne songs which was inserted at the beginning of M). Both R and V present unique melodies: there are no significant variants in the four extant readings of the 'basic melody', except for the use of a B♭ in O.

⁶ This chanson is also preserved in V and R: the V melody is related to the 'basic melody' but with a considerable number of variants, and the R melody is widely divergent.

⁷ This *jeu-parti* also survives in two other sources but without music: T and Paris, BNF f. fr. 12581.

Finally, the melody of Moniot d'Arras's chanson 'Boine amor sans trecherie' is used in four contrafacta: a chanson, a *pastourelle*, and two *chansons pieuses*, and extracts from it also occur in a two-voice motet which is preserved in T. The source chanson occurs in KNPX, M, and T; the contrafactum chanson 'Qui a chanter veut entendre' occurs in KNPX. The contrafactum *pastourelle* 'C'est en mai quant reverdoie' occurs in X, as does the contrafactum *chanson pieuse* 'Por ce que verité die'; the other contrafactum *chanson pieuse*, 'De la virge nete et pure', is copied twice in the source i. It may be observed from that, although different genres are involved in these various contrafacta, no attempt is made to reinvent the melodies and there are no significant variants to speak of; a comparison of the details of the notation of the three contrafacta in X with that of the source melody in the same manuscript indicates that the contrafacta melodies (all of which occur towards the end of the manuscript) were copied directly from the source melody which occurs on fos. 92^v–93.⁸

Both 'Boine amour sans trecherie' and 'Li dous termine' by Moniot appear in motets: only the text and music of the first two lines and of the last line of each chanson are used, however.⁹ The pitches are redistributed among the neumes to facilitate the new rhythmic structure. However, there is clearly no reason why the rhythm imposed on the two lines of each chanson used in the motets should be imposed on the original chanson.

Implications of the incidence and nature of contrafacta

The closed writerly aspect of many of the contrafacta (particularly within the manuscript family KNPX as, for instance, in the case of three of the contrafacta of 'Boine amor sans trecherie') is self-evident. This writerly aspect does not, of course, preclude the transmission and further adaptation of the melodies with new texts in performance, but it does suggest that in some instances at least, the scribe notating the contrafactum was writing what he was seeing as opposed to what he was necessarily hearing. In this respect, the written tradition introduces a new dimension to the act and meaning of writing and the written word. However, as mentioned above, the practice of borrowing was a feature of the troubadour and trouvère art from its beginnings. It is clear that by the end of the thirteenth century and the first half of the fourteenth century, when the treatises *Lays d'Amors* and the *Doctrina de componder dictats* were written, the recycling of pre-existing melodies was a common practice, and, furthermore, in the

⁸ In this same example it is clear from the notation of 'De la virge' in its two occurrences in i that the melody was also copied directly.

⁹ The two motets in question are edited in *The Earliest Motets (to circa 1270): A Complete Comparative Edition*, ed. H. Tischler, 2 vols. (New Haven, 1982), ii. 1148–50 ('Boine amour') and 1451–53 ('Li dous termine').

perception of the authors of these treatises, one of the musical criteria for genre distinction was whether a text required a new melody or whether it borrowed an old tune.¹⁰ This practice of free borrowing of material may seem to be in conflict with the fundamental lyric nature of troubadour and trouvère song (where the music and text were, supposedly, inextricably linked). However, it is unlikely that such borrowing was as strict and literal as portions of the written tradition would seem to suggest. As discussed above, the melodic art of composition and performance in troubadour and trouvère lyric involved the reinvention or recreation of the individual song at each performance:¹¹ so too is it conceivable that a melody, culled from an existing song, would be manipulated according to the exigencies of the structure, syntax, and rhetoric of the new text. Although the practice of transferring melodies from one genre to another might seem to represent a purely mechanical writerly process, it is in fact a documented feature of oral traditions. Indeed in certain oral traditions, as for instance in Irish traditional music, the practice of borrowing tunes across 'genres' is so widespread that recognized 'families of tunes' exist whereby the melody of a 'sean nós' song (i.e. in the 'old style' solo song tradition) with a slow, ornamented melody, with no regular fixed rhythmic patterns, is modified to the distinctive 6/8 dance rhythm of the jig, and to the distinctive 4/4 rhythm of the hornpipe. This is a typical example of *mouvance du texte*. It should be noted that just as the transference of a *sean nós* melody to the dance rhythms of the jig and the hornpipe in no way implies a rhythmic interpretation of the original *sean nós* melody, so too the transference of the melodies of trouvère chansons to the distinctive rhythmic context of a motet has no implication for the interpretation of the original chanson.

Perhaps the lyric genre that relied most heavily on the process of borrowing was the *chanson pieuse*.¹² A considerable number of contrafacta of this type is

¹⁰ See especially the *Doctrina de compondre dictats*, in *The Razos de Trobar of Raimon Vidal*, ed. Marshall, 95–8. The *Doctrina*, which, along with the Ripoll treatise edited here, belongs to a Catalan tradition and, as Marshall points out, is a product of a 'lively decadence' of troubadour art, includes only brief references to the melody, or *so*, appropriate for each genre. This generally consists merely of an observation as to whether a new or a borrowed melody should be used. The genres cited in which a borrowed melody may be used are: *serventz*, *plant*, *tenso*, and *cobles esparses*; and in the case of the genres the *pastorela* and the *gelezesca*, a new tune, or a little-known (*estrany*) pre-existing tune may be used. In the *Lays d'Amors*, which belongs to an Old Provençal tradition and is a product of an artificial revival of the troubadour art in the first half of the 14th c., the *serventes*, *tenso*, and *partimen* are listed as the genres in which a borrowed melody may be used.

¹¹ The idea of reinvention or renewal pertains not only to the song, but also to the emotion that inspires it: love. In song VIII, Adam says: 'Je senc en moy l'amor renouveler, / ki autre fois m'a fait le doc mal traire / dont je soloie en desirant chanter, / par koy mes chans renouvele et repaire' [I feel love renewing itself in me, / That previously made me bear the sweet suffering / About which I used to sing in my desire, / Because of which my song returns and renews itself].

¹² The *serventois* was another genre in which it was conventional to adopt the metrical and musical structure of a *chanson*. See e.g. Adam de la Halle's *serventois* 'Helas il n'est mais nus ki aint', which is a contrafact of one

found in the collections of religious songs, appended to the main body of P and X, and V.¹³ Many of these songs are Marian lyrics, and they represent only a very small part of the vast body of material, musical and literary, dedicated to the Blessed Virgin which survives from that period. The source i (Paris, BNF f. fr. 12483), which transmits two of the *chanson pieuses* contrafacta of Moniot songs, also contains one of the most substantial literary works of the period dedicated to the Blessed Virgin, Gautier de Coinci's *Miracles de Notre Dame*. With regard to the *chansons pieuses* in the trouvère repertory, it would, presumably, have been possible to compose new melodies for these texts, but it would appear that it was fashionable, if not indeed an established practice, to use pre-existent melodies from the courtly song repertoire. The *chanson pieuse* does not therefore have a distinctive musical identity. This is not to suggest that any type of melody was considered adequate for use with the 'religious' texts: in this regard it is noteworthy that, even in R and V, the chansonniers which have such a large number of melodies in the new syllabic style, the melodies for the *chansons pieuses* (even when they too are unique) tend to be somewhat more neumatic. Consequently, it is not unreasonable to infer that it was the 'slow, ornate melodies, punctuated with pauses' of the high-style chanson that were often deemed stylistically compatible with the aesthetic of the *chanson pieuse*.

Despite the intervention of literate processes in the transmission of the trouvère repertory and also possibly in generating contrafacta, the crucial role of orality in the *grand chant courtois* was never completely undermined. Somewhat paradoxically perhaps, the older style was to enjoy a revival in the output of a figure who was at the centre of the relatively new world of literacy: I refer of course to the seminal figure Adam de la Halle, the last of the great trouvères.

A New Synthesis: The Lyric Style of Adam de la Halle

As a historical figure Adam de la Halle stands at a pivotal point between two great eras of medieval music: on the one hand, he was the last major figure in a tradition extending back not merely one hundred years to the earlier trouvères, but, in effect, a further one hundred years to the earliest troubadours. On the other hand, he was part of a new tradition of polyphonic secular music that was

of his own chansons, 'Helas, il n'est mais nus ki n'aint'. For a study of the Occitan *sirventes* and its relationship to the Old French *serventois* see D. Rieger, *Gattungen und Gattungsbezeichnungen der Trobadordlyrik: Untersuchungen zum altprovenzalischen Sirventes* (BzZRP 148; Tübingen, 1976), see especially pp. 47–184.

¹³ In a, which is organized according to genre, one section (fos. 120–133^v) is entitled 'chançons de notre dame'. The source M also has four songs to the Virgin at the beginning of the collection.

to dominate musical composition for the following two hundred years. He lived in a century that underwent dramatic changes and developments and, in both his life and his works, he embodies many of these diverse elements. He was born and, as far as can be established, spent a considerable part of his working life in the environment of the flourishing bourgeois society of Arras, and yet for part of his life, just as so many of his predecessors had done, he was in the service of noblemen.¹⁴ Of the variety of *personae* presented by Adam's life and works, perhaps the most enduring is that of Adam as a man of letters. And it is precisely this image which the medieval illuminators selected as his 'trademark' in the miniature heading his works in **A**, the **Arras** chansonnier (fo. 142^v). Adam is seated at a desk, pen in hand, and apparently in the act of writing.¹⁵ As discussed in Chapter 2, Adam is one of the earliest authors, and certainly one of the earliest musicians, for whom an *opera omnia*, such as that in preserved in **W**, was compiled, perhaps even with his cooperation, if not active participation. In it, all his compositions, literary and musical, are meticulously arranged in separate groups according to genre, and are a testament to his talent and versatility as a composer. To the repertoire of courtly chansons he contributed some thirty-six songs—a substantially larger contribution than survives for most trouvères.

The transmission of Adam's output is remarkably unified by comparison with that of most other trouvères, owing no doubt in large part to his closeness to the written tradition. In the transmission of Adam's melodies it is particularly striking that the manuscripts **R**, **V**, and **A**, which had so many divergent readings for the melodies of songs by other trouvères, present the same 'basic melody' as the other manuscripts for the most part. In only one instance, 'Pour chou' (XXVIII), does **R** (which transmits twenty-three of Adam's songs) present a unique melody. Admittedly **R**, **V**, and **A** do, in general, feature more variants (the nature of which will be discussed in more detail below) than the other manuscripts, but, nonetheless, they retain the basic formulation found in the other sources. Apart from 'Pour chou', there are only three songs for which divergent melodies survive and in these instances the manuscripts **R** and **V** are not involved. These are 'De cuer pensiu' (XXXII), which has two melodies, one in **Q** and **a** and the other in **A**, **P**, and **W**; and the two *chansons pieuses*, 'Ki a pucele' (XXXV), which has a different melody in each of the three manuscripts (**Q**, **P**, and **W**) in which it survives,¹⁶ and 'Glorieuse Virge' (XXXVI), for which three divergent melodies also survive (one in **Q** and **a**, one in **P**, and one in **W**).

¹⁴ Dedications to noble patrons or acquaintances are found, for instance, in 'Je ne cant pas' and 'On demande mout souvent'. Adam also was in the service of Robert II, Count of Artois.

¹⁵ This image is frequently discussed. See e.g. S. Huot's interpretation of it in her excellent study *From Song to Book*.

¹⁶ The versions in **P** and **W** are, however, closely related in line 1.

The poetic style of Adam de la Halle's chansons

The poetic style in the chansons of Adam de la Halle has been the subject of considerable scholarly attention and so will not be discussed at length here.¹⁷ Six of the songs are, strictly speaking, outside the confines of the *grande chanson courtoise*. Two are songs in praise of the Virgin or *chansons pieuses*, namely, 'Ki a pucele' (XXXV) and 'Glorieuse Virge' (XXXVI); Marshall identifies two others (which are personal in tone) as *serventois*-like compositions; and two are lighter in tone and style: 'Li dous maus' (X), which has a resonance of the *pastourelle* genre, and 'Amours, m'ont si doucement' (XXXI), which is a *chanson de femme*. The remaining thirty are *chansons d'amours*, belonging to the older high-style mould rather than to the newer tradition of a 'courtoisie embourgeoisée' represented in the works of Erart and, to an even greater extent, Moniot de Paris. There is no suggestion of the more worldly concept of love found in that tradition. Adam's songs follow the older tradition that deals with the subject of love in a more abstract way, and with courtly values. Marshall summarizes the thematic nature of Adam's songs thus:

These songs are songs about love, rather than love songs in any Romantic sense. More than a celebration of the physical and moral qualities of a shadowy beloved, they are celebrations of the idea and nature of love itself. More than an idealisation of woman, they express an idealisation of the courtly suitor. The poet presents himself as a devotee of *fine amour* in a number of possible emotional situations—hope, joy, despair, and so on.¹⁸

Adam's language for the most part employs the innate language and imagery of the genre (with attendant feudal imagery, for instance), but there is an occasional hint of the other world with which he was personally acquainted in what Marshall describes as the 'commercial' metaphors and images which appear in a few of his chansons. 'Ki a droit' (XX), for example, has several images from the world of money and borrowing, but given that this song is dedicated to a rich notary of Arras, Robert Nasart, they are particularly appropriate, and no doubt deliberate.¹⁹ In 'Ma douce dame' (XVIII) he uses a metaphor of wealth amassing in a treasury.²⁰ The fifth strophe of that song goes as follows:

¹⁷ *The Chansons of Adam de la Halle*, ed. J. H. Marshall (Manchester, 1971) and J. E. Stevens, '“La grande chanson courtoise”: The Songs of Adam de la Halle', *PRMA* 101 (1974–5), 11–30. See also the 'Literary Introduction' by D. Hubbard Nelson in *The Lyrics and Melodies of Adam de la Halle*, lyrics translated and edited by D. Hubbard Nelson, melodies edited by H. van der Werf (GLML, ser. A, 24; New York, 1985), pp. xiii–xxx. More generally, see also P. Zumthor, 'Entre deux esthétiques: Adam de la Halle', in *Mélanges de langue et de littérature du moyen âge et de la Renaissance offerts à Jean Frappier par ses collègues, ses élèves et ses amis*, ii (Geneva, 1970), 1155–71, and the various references to Adam in Dragonetti, *La Technique poétique*.

¹⁸ *The Chansons of Adam*, ed. Marshall, 3.

¹⁹ Adam dedicates two other songs to this man, 'Amours ne me wet' (XXIV) and 'Dous est li maus' (XXIX).

²⁰ See also 'Je ne cant pas' (XXII), where he speaks of bargains and exchange (lines 19–27).

Dame, si que vo valours
 N'en doive estrë amenrie,
 Vous proi merchi et secours,
 Dont bien estes aaisie
 C'est rikece en tresorie
 Ki ne sert fors de jesir
 Car nel volés eslargir,
 Et tout adiés monteplie.
 (Song XVIII, lines 33–40)

Lady, in order that your worth
 Be not diminished,
 I beg you for mercy and for help,
 With which you are well endowed.
 It is like wealth in a treasury
 Which serves no purpose left unused,
 For you do not wish to dispense it,
 And all the time it multiplies.

In 'Dame vos hom' (XXVI) he uses another worldly metaphor, that of refining gold, in addressing his beloved lady, who has rejected him in favour of another:

Vous faites capel d'espine,
 s'ostés le vermail bouton
 ki mieux vaux—esgardés mon—
 comme cil qui l'or afine
 laist l'ort et retient le bon
 You make a crown of thorns,
 But you throw away the pink bud
 Which is worth more—consider this well—
 Just as one who refines gold
 Leaves the dross for others and keeps what is good.

Metrical structure

As with the thematic content of his texts, the structures and forms Adam uses in his chansons remain within the confines of the conventions of the traditional *chanson courtoise*. Unlike his predecessor, Moniot de Paris, Adam eschews refrain forms completely in his songs, except in 'Li dous maus', a *pastourelle*-type composition: by using a refrain in this and not in the others he underlines the genre distinction. Similarly, another lighter-style composition, the *chanson de femme* ('Amours m'ont si doucement'), has a distinctive structure (see below). The remaining chansons are in the traditional bipartite form with a four-line

frons (in which the music of the first two lines is repeated for lines 3 and 4) and a four- to eight-line *cauda*.

Conventional though the structures Adam uses in his chansons might be, they are certainly more adventurous than those used, for instance, in Audefrois's chansons, most of which are in stanzas of eight lines and are isometric. With regard to stanza length, Adam too shows a preference for eight-line stanza structure, but he also uses longer structures: fourteen songs have eight-line stanzas, eight have nine-line stanzas, another eight have ten-line stanzas, four have eleven-line stanzas, and one has twelve-line stanzas. With regard to the metrical structure within the stanza, Adam shows a decided preference for heterometric structures: only five of his songs are isometric; three of them have seven-syllable lines, one has eight-syllable lines, and the remaining one is decasyllabic. In his preference for heterometric structures he is closer to Dargies than to any of the intervening trouvères discussed in Chapter 5 (see Table 6.2).

In Adam's heterometric structures the decasyllable is very frequently used:²¹ most commonly the entire *frons* is decasyllabic and one (or more) lines of the *cauda* is also decasyllabic. This is frequently line 5, i.e. the first line of the *cauda*,

TABLE 6.2. *Isometric and heterometric structures in the works of six trouvères*

Trouvère	Genre	Verse structure	
		Isometric	Heterometric
Dargies	chansons	9	11
Bastard	chansons	7	3
Erart	chansons*	7	4
	<i>pastourelles</i>	3	8
Arras	chansons	10	6
	<i>pastourelles</i>	—	1
Paris	chansons	—	4
	<i>pastourelles</i>	2	1
	<i>chanson de femme</i>	—	1
De la Halle	chansons*	5	28
	<i>pastourelles</i>	—	1
	<i>chanson de femme</i>	—	1

NOTE. Groups marked with asterisk include *chansons pieuses* and/or *serventois*-like works.

²¹ In this regard too Adam adheres to an older practice that is in marked contrast to Erart and Paris, who show a preference for short five, six-, or seven-syllable lines rather than the decasyllable.

thus providing a metrical link between the two parts of the song. Decasyllables in Adam's heterometric chansons occur as follows:

1. Ten songs have an entirely decasyllabic *frons* and one (or more) decasyllables in the *cauda* (in seven of these songs it occurs in the first line of the *cauda*);
2. four songs have an entirely decasyllabic *frons* and no decasyllables in the *cauda*;
3. one song has decasyllables in two lines only: the first and last lines of the *frons*.

Thus, in all, the decasyllable occurs within the heterometric structure of fifteen songs and in one isometric song.

Melodic structure and rhyme schemes

By far the most common rhyme scheme in the *frons* of Adam's chansons is the pattern *abab* (see Table 6.3). With one exception and one slight deviation,²² this is always matched with a melodic form *abab* where the music of lines 1 and 2 is repeated in lines 3 and 4 (with occasionally slight variations in the repetition). When the *frons* of a song has a rhyme scheme other than *abab* it does not have the musical structure *abab*. Of the eight songs which do not have the rhyme scheme *abab*, six have the rhyme scheme *abba* and the variety of melodic forms which accompany them are as follows: *abac* (X), *abca* (XXII), *abcd* (XXXV), *abcb* (XX), and *abcb'* in the melody presented in Q and a for XXXII. (The divergent melody presented for this song in the sources A, P, and W has the melodic form *abab*.)

It is obvious from Table 6.3 that there is a noticeably higher instance of the use of an overall chanson (AAB) form in Adam de la Halle's chansons than, for instance, in Dargies's chansons. It is notable, however, that the two chansons by Adam which have no repetition of melodic phrases (a form sometimes designated rather vaguely as *oda continua*) are found within the group of five songs that are isometric: thus, the regularity of the metrical structure is balanced by the lack of repetition in the melody.²³ The two songs in question are 'Dame, vos hom' (XXVI), which is heptasyllabic, and the chanson 'Ki a pucele' (XXXV),

²² Song XIX has a rhyme scheme *abba* in the *frons* and a musical form *abac*. The slight deviation to which I refer is song V ('Helas il n'est mais nus qui aint', and its contrafact of exactly the same musical and metrical structure, song VI), which has a rhyme scheme *abab*: its melody consists of a melodic sentence in the first two lines which is repeated exactly in the third and fourth. In all this it does not deviate from the general pattern: where it does deviate is that the melody of line 2 so closely resembles that of line 1 (effectively line 2 is merely a repetition of line 1 except with a *clos* ending) that the melodic form is more accurately described as *aa'aa'* rather than *abab*.

²³ Comments on the 'counterpoint' of musical and textual structures in some of Adam's songs is made in L. Gushee, 'Analytical Method and Compositional Process in Some Thirteenth- and Fourteenth-Century Music', in *Aktuelle Fragen der musikbezogenen Mittelalterforschung: Texte zu einem Basler Kolloquium des Jahres 1975* (Wintherthur, 1982), 169–80.

TABLE 6.3. *Metrical structure and large-scale melodic repetition in the chansons of Adam de la Halle*

I. D'amourous cuer	a 7 a	b' 5+ b	a 7 a	b' 5+ b	a 7 c	c 7 d	c 7 e	b' 5+ f	c 7 g	a 3 h
II. Li jolis maus	a' 10+ a	b 10 b	a' 10+ a	b 10 b	a' 10+ c	b 7 d	b 7 b'	a' 7+ e		
III. Jou n'ay autre retenanche	a' 7+ a	b 7 b	a' 7+ a	b 7 b	b 4 c	c 7 d	b 7 e	c 7 f	b 4 g	b c 7 4 h i
IV. Il ne muet pas de sens	a 10 a	b' 10+ b	a 10 a	b' 10+ b	b' 10+ c	c 10 d	c 10 e	b' 10+ f		
V. Helas, il n'est mais nus qui aint	a 8 a	b 8 a'	a 8 a'	b 8 a'	b 8 b	c' 4+ c	c' 8+ a ²	b 8 a		
R	a	a'	a'	a'	b	c	a ³	a ⁴		
VI. Helas, il n'est mais nus qui n'aint	a 8	b 8	a 8	b 8	b 8	c' 4+	c' 8+	b 8		
Q P W W _x as in song V	a	a'	a'	a'	b	c	d	e		
R	a	a'	a'	a'	b	c	d	e		
VII. On me deffent	a' 10+ a	b 10 b	a' 10+ a	b 10 b	b 7 c	c' 7+ d	c' 7+ e	b 10 f	b 7 g	
VIII. Jou senc en moy	a 10 a	b' 10+ b	a 10 a	b' 10+ b	b' 7+ c	c 10 d	c 7 e	b' 7+ f		
IX. Li maus d'amors	a 10 a	b' 10+ b	a 10 a	b' 10+ b	b' 10+ c	c 5 d	c 7 e	b 7 f		
X. Li dous maus	a' 7+ a	b 5 b	b 7 a'	a' 7+ c	a' 7+ d	c 7 e	c 7 f	Ref. <u>d</u> 4	<u>d</u> 6	
XI. Pour koy se plaint	a 7 a	b' 7+ b	a 7 a'	b' 7+ b'	c 5 c	c 7 d	d' 7+ e	d' 7+ f	e 5 g	e d' 7 7+ h i

TABLE 6.3. (cont.)

XII. Merci, amors	a 10 a	b 10 b	a 10 a	b 10 b	b 5 c	c 7 d	c 7 e	b 7 f	b 10 g	
XIII. On demande mout souvent	a 10 a	b 10 b	a 10 a	b 10 b	b 7 c	c' 7+ d	c' 7+ e	d 7 f	d 7 g	c' 7+ h
XIV. Au repairier	a' 10+ a	b 10 b	a' 10+ a	b 10 b	b 7 c	c' 7+ d	c' 7+ e	d 7 f	d 5 g	
XV. Tant me plaist	a 10 a	b 10 b	a 10 a	b 10 b	b 10 c	c' 5+ d	c' 7+ e	a 7 f	a 7 g	c' 7+ h
XVI. Puis ke je sui	a 10 a	b 10 b	a 10 a	b 10 b	b 5 c	c 7 d	c 7 e	d 7 f	d 7 g	c 5 h
XVII. De canter	a' 10+ a	b 10 b	a' 10+ a	b 10 b	a' 10+ c	b 10 d	b 7 e	a' 7+ f		
XVIII. Ma douce dame	a 7 a	b' 7+ b	a 7 a	b' 7+ b	b' 7+ c	c 7 d	c 7 e	b' 7+ f		
XIX. Merveille est	a 7 a	b 3 b	a 7 a	b 3 c	b 7 d	c 7 e	c 7 f	d' 5+ d'	d' 7+ g	c 5 h
XX. Ki a droit	a 8 a	b 8 b	b 8 c	a 8 b	a 4 d	b 8 b	a 8 e	a 8 f	b 4 g	
XXI. Sans espoir	a 7 a	b 3 b	a 7 a	b 3 b'	c 5 c	c 7 d	d' 7+ e	d' 7+ f	e 7 g	e 4 b'
XXII. Je ne cant pas	a 10 a	b' 7+ b	b' 7+ c	a 10 a'	a 7 d	c 5 e	c 5 f	d 7 c'	d 5 g	
XXIII. Se li maus	a' 7+ a	b 5 b	b 7 a'	a' 7+ c	c 7 d	c 7 e	d 7 f	d 7 g	c 7 h	c 4 i
XXIV. Amours ne me wet oir	a 7 a	b' 7+ b	a 7 a'	b' 7+ b'	b' 5+ c	c 5 d	c 7 e	b' 7+ f		

TABLE 6.3. (cont.)

XXV. Grant deduit	a'	b	a'	b	c'	c'	d	d				
	10+	10	10+	10	10+	7+	7	10				
	<i>a</i>	<i>b</i>	<i>a</i>	<i>b</i> ⁱ	<i>c</i>	<i>d</i>	<i>e</i>	<i>b</i> ²				
XXVI. Dame, vos hom	a'	b	b	a'	b	a'	b	b	a'			
	7+	7	7	7+	7	7+	7	7	7+			
	<i>a</i>	<i>b</i>	<i>c</i>	<i>d</i>	<i>e</i>	<i>f</i>	<i>g</i>	<i>h</i>	<i>i</i>			
XXVII. Mout plus se plaine Amors	a'	b	a'	b	b	c'	c'	b	b			
	10+	10	10+	10	10	7+	7+	5	7			
	<i>a</i>	<i>b</i>	<i>a</i>	<i>b</i>	<i>c</i>	<i>d</i>	<i>e</i>	<i>f</i>	<i>g</i>			
XXVIII. Pour chou	a	b	a	b	b	c'	c'	d	c'	d	c	
	7	5	7	5	7	7+	7+	5	7+	7	4+	
PW	<i>a</i>	<i>b</i>	<i>a</i>	<i>b</i> ⁱ	<i>c</i>	<i>d</i>	<i>d</i> ⁱ	<i>e</i>	<i>f</i>	<i>g</i>	<i>e</i> ⁱ	
R	<i>a</i>	<i>b</i>	<i>a</i> ⁱ	<i>b</i>	<i>c</i>	<i>d</i>	<i>e</i>	<i>f</i>	<i>g</i>	<i>h</i>	<i>i</i>	
XXIX. Dous est li maus	a'	b	a'	b	b	a'	a'	b	a'	b	b	
	10+	10	10+	10	10	7+	7+	7	7+	7	4	
	<i>a</i>	<i>b</i>	<i>a</i>	<i>b</i>	<i>c</i>	<i>d</i>	<i>e</i>	<i>f</i>	<i>g</i>	<i>h</i>	<i>i</i>	
XXX. Or voi jou bien	a	b	a	b	b	c	c	b				
	7	5	7	5	7	3	7	4				
	<i>a</i>	<i>b</i>	<i>a</i>	<i>b</i>	<i>c</i>	<i>d</i>	<i>e</i>	<i>f</i>				
XXXI. Amours m'ont si doucement	a	a	a	a	a	a	a	a	a	a		
	7	7	7	7+	4	7	7	7	7	+6		
	<i>a</i>	<i>b</i>	<i>b</i> ⁱ	<i>c</i>	<i>d</i>	<i>a</i>	<i>b</i>	<i>a</i> ⁱ	<i>c</i>	<i>d</i>		
XXXII. De cuer pensiu	a	b	b	a	a	c	c	a				
	8	8	8	8	4	8	8	8				
aQ	<i>a</i>	<i>b</i>	<i>c</i>	<i>b</i> ⁱ	<i>a</i> ⁱ	<i>d</i>	<i>e</i>	<i>b</i> ⁱ				
APW	<i>a</i>	<i>b</i>	<i>a</i>	<i>b</i>	<i>c</i>	<i>d</i>	<i>e</i>	<i>d</i> ⁱ				
XXXIII. De tant com plus	a	b	a	b	b	c	c	d'	d'	c	c	d'
	10	10	10	10	7	4	7	7+	7+	7	7	7+
	no music											
XXXIV. Onkes nus hom	a	b	a	b	c'	c'	d	d				
	7	7	7	7	7+	7+	7	7				
	<i>a</i>	<i>b</i>	<i>a</i>	<i>b</i> ⁱ	<i>c</i>	<i>d</i>	<i>e</i>	<i>f</i>				
XXXV. Ki a pucele	a'	b	b	a'	a'	b	a'	b				
	8+	8	8	8+	8+	8	8+	8				
QPW	<i>a</i>	<i>b</i>	<i>c</i>	<i>d</i>	<i>e</i>	<i>f</i>	<i>g</i>	<i>h</i>				

TABLE 6.3. (cont.)

XXXVI. Glorieuse Virge Marie	a'	b	a'	b	a'	a'	b	b	a'
	8+	8	8+	8	8+	8+	8	10	10+
aQ	a	b	a	b'	c	d	e	d'	c'
P	a	b	a	b	c	d	e	f	c'
W	a	b	a	b	c	a'	d	c'	a'

which is octosyllabic. It is interesting to note that all three of the divergent melodies preserved for 'Ki a pucele' share the same basic structure of having no literal repetition of any individual musical phrase, but some repetition of melodic figuration in the second half of both the **P** and **W** versions (see Table 6.3).

The form and structure of the two lighter-style songs distinguish them from the remainder of Adam's chansons. The distinguishing feature of the *pastourelle*-like 'Li dous maus' (X) is that it is the only song to have a refrain. In fact the overall rhyme scheme of this song is the same as that of the chanson 'Je ne cant pas':

'Li dous maus': a b b a a c c d d
 'Je ne cant pas': a b b a a c c d d

The musical structures of both are also quite similar, with the main difference occurring only in the last two lines:

'Li dous maus': a b a' c d e f g h
 'Je me cant pas': a b c a' d e f c' g

Far more striking, however, is the structure of the *chanson de femme*, 'Amours m'ont si doucement' (XXXI), which is totally different from any other structure found in Adam's chansons (see Ex. 6.2). It is a bipartite structure, but one which differs significantly from all of the other songs:

a a a a a a a a a a
 7 7 7 7 +4 7 7 7 7 +6

It is symmetrically constructed, the first half being composed of four heptasyllabic lines followed by a four-syllable line; the second half again has four heptasyllabic lines but is followed by a six-syllable line.²⁴ The question of a balance in rhyming patterns does not arise as only one rhyme is used throughout the entire song.

²⁴ An alternative interpretation, which Marshall proposes, is that the four- and six-syllable lines form part of the preceding seven-syllable lines, so the structure of the song would be 7 7 7 11 7 7 7 13 (with an internal rhyme on the seventh syllable of the fourth and eight lines).

Melodic style

Before discussing the common features of the melodic style in the chansons of Adam de la Halle,²⁵ let us first consider the melody of the *chanson de femme* (Ex. 6.2) The symmetry in the metrical structure commented on above (with respect to the number of lines and line lengths in the two parts of the stanza) is realized fully in the melody: the material for lines 1–5 is repeated exactly for lines 6–10 with only a slight modification in line 10 to accommodate its two extra syllables. The pattern of large-scale repetition in the formal structure of the melody might be represented as follows:

$$a \ b \ b^1 \ c \ d \quad a \ b \ b^1 \ c \ d^1$$

While this indicates the pattern of large-scale literal or near-literal repetition, it does not show the more subtle structural relationship between lines. In effect all five lines are closely related: the same figuration appears on the first five syllables of each line and to these is added a different closing figure in the last two syllables of lines 1, 2, 3, 4, and 10. Here we see a similar sequence technique to that observed in the songs of Moniot de Paris. The melodic figure on the first five notes of line 1 occurs in ‘real sequence’ at a pitch a fourth higher in lines 2 and 3, in ‘tonal sequence’ at a pitch a second higher in line 4 and in ‘real sequence’ (W specifies that the *b* is flat) at a pitch a second lower in line 5. Because line 5 has only four syllables the neumes accompanying the first two syllables of the other lines are contracted into the first syllable of line 5. The melodic substance of the entire song is thus based on a five-neume figure, repeated at different pitch levels, with varied closing figures on the last two syllables of each line providing the ‘tonal’ shape.

The melodic style of the main body of Adam’s chansons is in marked contrast to that of the *chanson de femme*. The chansons tend to have more expansive melodies: in ‘Il ne muet pas’ the melodic range is quite considerable, even within individual lines. In line 1 the melody spans the range of a ninth from the opening pitch *c'* to a ninth below (*B*) on the last syllable of the line. In the subsequent lines the average range is a seventh. With regard to its ‘tonal’ character, an unusual feature of this chanson is that it begins and ends on the same pitch, if at an octave remove. The final notes of each line also give the song an outline of a tonal framework:

$$\text{frons: } B \ c \ B \ c \quad \text{cauda: } g \ g \ d \ c$$

But the character of the melody within this ‘tonal’ border, and its compositional genesis, is much more complex than that of the *chanson de femme*. Large-scale

²⁵ For a discussion of aspects of Adam’s melodic style see J. Maillard, *Adam de la Halle: Perspective musicale* (Paris, 1982).

repetition, so characteristic of the lower style, also occurs here, but only in the convention of bar form where the two *pedes* of the *frons* are set to the same melody:

frons: a b a b *cauda*: c d e f

Apart from this conventional repetition in the *frons*, the repetition of whole phrases does not otherwise occur in this song. Large-scale repetition, apart from that in the *frons*, is found occasionally in other songs: sometimes it involves the repetition of a melodic phrase from the *frons* in the *cauda*, as in XXI (*abab¹ cdefgb¹*), and, at other times, the repetition of a phrase from within the *cauda*, as in XIX (*abac defd¹gh*).

Other examples of both of these repetitive structures can be observed in Table 6.3 and it will also be apparent that the majority of Adam's chansons feature the conventional repetition in the *frons*, but do not characteristically contain the repetition of musical phrases in the *cauda*: thus the most common pattern is *abab cdef*, etc. To infer from this, as has been done, that there is no repetition in the *cauda* would be to invest these symbols with a greater significance than they are intended to have, or indeed than they are capable of conveying. On the contrary, repetitive devices play a crucial role in the structure and development of the *cauda*, despite, or perhaps to a certain degree because of, the lack of repetition of whole musical phrases. But the type of repetition found here involves smaller units that although sometimes repeated exactly, more typically are developed, varied, or recast in a slightly different form.

On closer inspection of 'Il ne muet pas' (see the analysis in Ex. 6.3), it may be observed that these processes are used not only in the compositional genesis of the *cauda*, but in the genesis of the second musical phrase of the *frons* as well. Phrase 1, which occupies line 1 of the text, is made up of two ideas: the opening gesture, designated as 'x' in the analysis, which begins on a repeated high *c'*, descends through a fourth, and, on the sixth syllable, comes to rest on an *f*; an answering figure in the last four syllables of the line, designated as 'y', which begins with a double *plica* on *g'*, descends through a fifth to *c*, and thence a further step to *B*. Line 2 introduces a new musical idea in the first hemistich (syllables 1–4): this is an ascending figure, labelled 'z', beginning on *d'* and rising through a fourth to *g*. The second hemistich of this line, however, does not introduce any further new musical idea: it is based instead on that of the second hemistich of line 1. The extra syllables in this hemistich (six as opposed to four in line 1) are accommodated by expanding the original idea: after the descent to *c*, the melody returns to *e*, on which it repeats the double *plica* figure and then falls back to *c*: this expansion serves not only to accommodate extra syllables but also provides a closing figure to the whole musical sentence which occupies lines 1 and 2. This whole musical sentence is then repeated for the text of lines 3 and 4.

While the tabular representation of phrase repetition for the song (*frons: abab; cauda: cdef*) indicates that no single phrase is repeated in the *cauda*, it conceals the fact that the entire *cauda* is constructed on the very same three musical ideas on which the *frons* is based, but these are expanded, contracted, or otherwise varied, to accommodate the syntactic structure of the text. The text of line 5, like that of lines 2 and 4 of the *frons*, is structured in units of 4 + 6 syllables and is based on the same two musical ideas as phrase 2 (used in lines 2 and 4). The 'z' idea is slightly varied, beginning *e-d* as opposed to *d-e*, and rises by leap rather than by step to the *g* (see 'z¹').²⁶ The 'y²' idea is a transposed version of 'y¹': it occurs a fourth higher, arriving at the end of the line on *g*, which gives the melody an appropriate impetus to move on at this point. It should be remarked that this type of transposition is noticeably different from the type of 'sequential' procedure often found in the lower style. The present instance is not a mere repetition of a melodic configuration at a different pitch level: instead there is a greater degree of flexibility in the handling of the configuration. Not only is the figure modified in its 'tonal' orientation,²⁷ it is also adapted to the accentuation of the individual words.²⁸

Line 6 can be regarded as the high point in the melodic structure of the stanza since it actually contains the highest pitch, *d'*, and is also the only single line to contain all three of the musical ideas on which the song is based. It begins with 'x¹', a second higher, and, because of the exigencies of a different text structure, contracted (four neumes instead of six) by comparison with the version in the opening gesture of the stanza: the contraction is effected by omitting the repetition of the opening pitch and using what was the last neume of 'x' as the first neume of the next sub-phrase, 'y³'. The 'transposition' up a second continues for the remaining three neumes of 'y³' that are a contraction of the parallel four-neume passage in line 1. Thus far, line 6 can be seen to be a 'transposed' version of line 1 with different phrasing. But it also appends a two-neume figure that is a contracted variation of 'z¹'. Line 7 has the same two musical ideas as line 1: 'x²' is a slight variation of the opening gesture 'x', and 'y^{3.1}' is a variation of the 'transposed' version of 'y' found in line 6. Finally, line 8 is based on line 2. Apart from the slight variation on 'con' in 'z³' from the parallel neume in 'z', line 8 has two significant variants from line 2. Both of these variants arise from the necessity to expand the 'z' figure from a four-neume figure to a six-neume figure, mirroring the different syntactical structure of line 8. The expansion is effected by incorporating one element each from the original 'x' and 'y', which have not been used in the

²⁶ In some of the other manuscripts (a, A, T, W) there is an intercalated *e* between the *d* and *g*; in Q the melody rises by step to the *g*.

²⁷ To maintain the 'transposition' of a fourth throughout this sub-phrase would have led to its ending on *f*, which clearly was not desired.

²⁸ The insertion of the passing-note pitch before the double *plica* in 'y²' gives a more satisfactory setting of the word 'd'estable', with the musical accent now coinciding with the textual accent on the second syllable.

intervening lines: first, the final note of 'x' (*B*), becomes the first note of 'z³' and, secondly, the descending third *a-f* at the end of 'x' is contracted into one neume to form the last neume of 'z³'.

Within the confines of the conventional 'bar' form and the large-scale repetition in the *frons* which that involves, repetitive devices play a crucial role in the structuring of the chanson melodies, but this repetition differs from repetitive structures used in other genres both in the level at which it occurs (i.e. involving small units) and in its nature (rather than a straightforward repetition, it is more of a reinvention). The genesis of an entire song from three short musical ideas, as in the above example, also serves to illustrate the 'organic' nature of the compositional technique in Adam's high-style chansons, which has much in common with the works of Dargies. Every song has one, two, or possibly three small organic musical ideas from which the melody evolves.²⁹ While the conventional large-scale repetition in the *frons* gives the melody a form, it is these small organic units which give the melody structure and unity.

This compositional process, involving the generation of a melody from a nucleus of a few short melodic ideas, here, as in the chansons of Gautier de Dargies discussed in Chapter 3, arguably reflects the origins of the genre in an oral tradition. The overall formal structure (in the vast majority of chansons the conventional bar form) and the organic unity of each melody (based on a small nucleus of material) are compatible with the role of memory in an oral-based tradition. No doubt the performer's task was aided by a familiarity with a large repertoire and with the conventions of particular styles of performance. No doubt too there was scope for the performer to introduce slight variants, but central to the orality of the style is the memorability of the melodic material that operates in a similar way to the role of rhyme in the memorization of text. Although Adam's melodies, when subjected to the scrutiny of the analytical eye, are very skilfully structured, the nature of their genesis gives an impression of improvisation in the way they appear to grow out of melodic cells.

Another exquisite example of this type of generative process is provided by 'Jou senc en moy' (see Ex. 6.4). Here again, as in 'Il ne muet pas', the overall pattern of melodic repetition is *abab cdef*. Effectively, however, the whole melody grows out of the material in line 1. The first half of line 2 (2a) 'recycles' the exact same pitches used from the middle of the third neume (over 'en') of line 1 to the end of that line, with the exception of the double *plica* on *b* (on the fifth syllable of line 1), which is replaced in line 2 by the repetition of the pitches *cb* in the double *plica* on *c'* (on the third syllable of line 2). This latter variation gives rise to the figure 'xy', which is an elision of the distinctive figure 'x', on the

²⁹ See also 'Helas il n'est mais' and 'On me demande souvent'.

second and third neumes of line 1, and the pitches of the passage marked 'y' at syllables 4–7 of the same line. The different distribution of pitches gives the material in 2a a distinctive character, and the opening figure in line 2 (the rising minor third from *a* through to *c'*) becomes particularly important as the melody develops. Most of the subsequent lines, with the exception of line 8 (and of course of line 3, which is a repetition of line 1), begin with this figure from line 2 or a slight variant thereof. The second half of line 2 uses the same material as the first half but, in its redistribution of the pitches over the new text, a greater emphasis is given to *g* as a pitch and tonal centre. The melody of lines 1 and 2 is then repeated to the text of lines 3 and 4.

Line 5 has the same material as its core, but the rising minor third figure *a–b–c'* is prefixed by another rising minor third figure *e–f–g*; and the line ends on *b*. Line 6 is almost an exact repetition of the material of line 1, with one notable change (the substitution of the initial *d* in line 1 with *b–c'*, thereby conflating the opening minor-third figure from line 2 with the opening figure of line 1) and three minor changes (the distribution of the two pitches in 1.4 to two separate syllables in 6.5–6; the substitution of a single note *b* for the double *plica* on the fifth syllable of line 1 and its amalgamation with the following two pitches; and the redistribution of the two pitches contained in the *plica* on the seventh syllable of line 1 among two neumes in line 6). Line 7 'recycles' the exact sequence of pitches in the first five neumes of 2a, but the constituent notes of the double *plica* are expanded to separate notes and, with the exception of the first two notes of the line, the pitches are distributed differently among the neumes; like line 5 it also ends on *b*. Finally, as observed in 'Il ne muet', line 8 presents an element of synthesis of lines 1 and 2 in juxtaposing the 'x' motif (used elsewhere only in line 6) and its derivative 'xy', used otherwise only in the first half of line 2.

In the case of Gautier de Dargies, the orality of the organic compositional process was underlined by the melodic variants in the slightly different readings of the 'basic melodies' in different manuscripts, all of which maintain a stylistic consistency and, for the most part, retain the integrity of the melodic ideas. In Adam's case the degree to which individual performances may have varied is more difficult to recreate, somewhat paradoxically, because of the more unified and closed written transmission of his chansons. Those variants that do arise, however, are of the same type as those observed in Dargies's chansons and those discussed in relation to Audefroï's songs in Chapter 3, where local variation occurs in the interchange of different types of *plicae*, the substitution of single notes for plicated notes and ligatures for plicated ligatures; the variation of pitch by a second at the beginning or end of a line; the introduction of passing notes, suspended, or anticipatory notes; and the substitution of different ornamental configurations. Likewise, larger-scale variation, involving slightly different

formulations over several syllables, is also found and, apart from the occasional deviation in **R**, all the variants otherwise retain the range, the important pitches, and the melodic shape—the constants remarked earlier in relation to the variants in multiple surviving versions of chansons by other trouvères.

Within Adam de la Halle's substantial corpus of chansons there is a considerable diversity, as will be clear from the above: if his texts are perceived by some to be stereotyped and conventional in certain respects,³⁰ his melodies exhibit considerable originality within a unified style. Although not as expansive as those of Dargies, nor with such 'tonal' tension and ambiguity, nor so effusively melismatic, Adam's melodies are closer to Dargies's melodic style than to that of other intervening trouvères such as Moniot de Paris. Adam tried to recreate not only the style of the older trouvère tradition but also its aesthetic. Just as in Dargies, the chansons by Adam would appear to attest that crucial to the style and aesthetic of that older tradition was a flexibility with regard to the question of rhythm. In this respect it is frequently noted that, in his *opera omnia*, Adam's chansons are in non-mensural notation, while his *rondeaux* and *motets* are in mensural notation. Equally convincing, however, is the very nature of the melodic processes employed in the chansons. A compositional or generative process whereby short melodic ideas are endlessly reinvented in the course of a melody, as for instance in 'Jou senc en moy' (to the extent that the relationship of the reinvented material to that from which it derives is often difficult to perceive) would appear to militate strongly against the notion that the original idea was ever meant to have a strong rhythmic identity.

The organicism of Adam's compositional process is based on short melodic shapes and configurations, and it is precisely the flexibility of rhythm that allows these shapes to develop in the ways they do. Furthermore, the notation of Adam's chansons in **W** exhibits some of the same indications of the lengthening of certain notes that, I would argue, should be interpreted as an echo of performance rhetoric rather than as an incompetent attempt to indicate a fixed rhythm for the chansons. In this regard the notation would seem not merely to represent the details of pitch, but, more fundamentally, to convey an impression of the style and aesthetic of the repertoire it notates.

Epilogue

A striking feature of Adam de la Halle's output is that after a period of some decades where high and low styles came closer and closer together, they now

³⁰ See also John Stevens's comments on the unity in diversity in Adam's melodic style (' "La grande chanson courtoise" ', 18 ff.).

begin to be more clearly defined again. This is apparent both in his poetic texts and in his melodic style and, more generally, in the organization of his works into distinct categories in *W*. It would appear that the desire to codify and categorize the trouvère repertoire from various aspects became an increasing preoccupation at the end of the thirteenth century and the beginning of the fourteenth century: the Adam *opera omnia* in *W* can be regarded as one manifestation of this trend. Whereas the notating of Adam's *motets* and *rondeaux* in clear mensural notation was forward-looking, the notating of the chansons, which belonged to a long oral tradition with little recourse to writing until the late thirteenth century, was an act to prolong or preserve that dying tradition. But it would not be an extended stay of execution: the increasing intervention of writing and literacy would have a profound effect on all aspects of life and culture. General literacy levels would remain very low for quite a long time to come but oral and literate traditions were destined to interact from this period.

Perhaps it was precisely his unique perspective, standing at the crossroads at the end of a long oral tradition and at the early stages of a new phenomenon of a composed written musical artefact, that allowed Adam to look back and recognize the value of the older and fast-disappearing chanson, and to choose, in this sphere at least, not to follow the fashionable trend towards a lighter style with simpler, more syllabic melodies. If his aim was to revive the older chanson, ultimately he was doomed to fail because the tradition was already in decline. While attempts by other trouvères, and perhaps also by organized groups, to resuscitate the genre by updating the melodic style might have helped to keep it alive for a while, it would not appear that they had any lasting success in this regard. Rather than contributing to any 'updating' of the chanson tradition, Adam chose instead to revive the older style. There is an abiding nostalgia in the texts of his chansons that laments the passing of older courtly values, while also rejecting more fashionable values.³¹ That is not to say that they do not have an original voice; on the contrary. Nor is it necessarily to suggest that Adam single-handedly revived the older tradition for its swan song; much more likely is that the old tradition never actually died out but was somewhat overshadowed by new developments and changing tastes. Nonetheless, one can see how with the pervading stylistic changes at the end of the thirteenth century, the history of the *grande chanson courtoise* had, in some respects, come full circle in the works of Adam de la Halle.

An interesting parallel to Adam's position in the history of the courtly song tradition is found in the works of the last major figure in the troubadour

³¹ For instance, in 'Pour chou' (XXVIII) Adam rejects contemporary attitudes to love and reasserts the older values of *fine amour*.

tradition, Guiraut Riquier. A contemporary of Adam's, Riquier too is a unique figure in that repertoire in that he also was closely involved with the written tradition: his works survive with music in only one manuscript (**TrbR**), again a type of *opera omnia*, although not on the scale of Adam de la Halle's, and one, moreover, in which Riquier's compositions were each provided with a date of composition. If these dates are accepted, they provide an opportunity for a unique chronological perspective on the output of an individual troubadour. Leaving aside the *chansons pieuses*, one can perceive a change from a simpler and more syllabic style in some of the 'earlier' *cansos* to a more complex and ornate style in many of the 'later' works. In Riquier's texts, as in Adam's, there is an element of social critique of contemporary values, as well as a resigned nostalgia for the passing of the older values of *fin amor*. Although the lamenting of the decadence of the world, and the loss of the noble and courtly values imbued in the concept of *fine amor*, is a central *topos* throughout the whole tradition, right back to the works of the early trouvère, Dargies, and before, it is perhaps not entirely fanciful to suggest that this *topos* had assumed a new and all too real significance in the works of the last proponents of a dying art.

Jamay non er hom en est mon grazitz
 per ben trobar bels ditz ni plazens sos
 ni per esser de bon grat enveyos
 tant es le mons avengutz descauzitz;
 car so que sol dar pretz, grat e lauzor
 aug repenre per folia major,
 e so c'om sol repenre e blasmar
 vey maintenir et aug per tot lauzar.

(Guiraut Riquier, *P/C* 248, 45, November 1286)

Never again will anyone be welcome
 to make good poems or pleasant tunes
 nor to desire courteous renown,
 for the world has become so coarse
 that what used to give worth and renown and praise,
 I hear treated as the greatest folly
 and what used to be reprimanded and blamed
 I now see upheld and praised everywhere.

Ex. 6.1. 'Chançonete a un chant legier' (R/S 1285): M, fo. 119; T, fo. 118^v (notated a second higher in the MS), and contrafactum 'Talens me rest' (R/S 793): V, fo. 151^v

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8

M

T

V

1. Chan - ço - - nete a un chant le - - gier

1. Ta - - lens me rest pris de chan - ter

2. Fe - - rai por joi - - e main - te - - nir

2. De la flour qui ne set mar - - cir

3. Si m'en qui - - doi - - e bien te - - nir

3. C'est [ce le] qui ains le flo - - rir

4. Mais se m'en a fait en - - for - - cier

4. Ne les - - sa pour son fruit por - - ter

Ex. 6.I. (cont.)

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8

M 8

T 8 5. Qu'el dous pa - - is doi re - - - pai - - - rier

V 8 5. Tant la vout ses fruiz ho - - - no - - - rer

M 8

T 8 6. Ou ce - - - le maint dont es - - - lon - - - gier

V 8 6. Qu'a li en - - - char - gier et mous - trer

M 8

T 8 7. Ne puis mon a - - - mo - - rous de - - - sir.

V 8 7. En cou - - vint na - - - ture es - - - ba - - - hir.

DropBooks

Ex. 6.2. 'Amours m'ont si doucement' (R/S 658): P, fos. 225^v–226; W, fo. 15^v

The musical score is presented in two systems, P (Poet) and W (Writer), each with a treble clef and a key signature of one flat (B-flat). The score is divided into seven numbered sections, each with a corresponding line of lyrics. The notation includes various musical symbols such as notes, rests, and slurs, indicating the melodic structure of the text.

1. A - - - mours m'ont si dou - - - che - - - ment

2. Na - - - vré, que nul mal ne sench,

3. Si ser - - - vi - - - rai bon - - - ne - - - ment

4. Et fac de men cuer pre - - - sent

5. A - - - mours et m'ent,

Ex. 6.2. (cont.)

P
8

W
8

6. Douce a - - - mi, a cui me rent.

1 2 3 4 5 6 7

P
8

W
8

7. Ne ja - - - mais pour nul tour - - - ment

P
8

W
8

8. Que j'ai - - - e, n'iert au - - - tre - - - ment,

P
8

W
8

9. Ains voeil u - - - ser mon jou - - - vent

P
8

W
8

10. En a - - - mer loi - - - al - - - ment.

DropBooks

Ex. 6.3. Melodic analysis of 'Il ne muet pas de sens' (R/S 152): P, fos. 212^v–213

1. Il ne muet pas de sens che lui ki plaint
 3. Pour chou ne puis ve oir ke cil bien aint

2. Paine et tra vail,
 4. Ki pour go ir

ki a quert a van ta ge;
 d'am ors souf-fran-ce ga ge.

5. Ki n'est souf frans
 etd'es-ta ble cor - - ra ge, —

6. Il ne se doit en tre me tre
 d'a mer:

7. Car cors ne puet en a-mor por fi ter
 8. Ki est a con paig-

niés a coer vo la ge. —

Ex. 6.4. Melodic analysis of 'Jou senc en moy' (R/S 888): P, fos. 214^v-215

1. Jou senc — en — moy l'a — mor — re — nou — ve — ler,
 3. Donc je so — — — loie en des — si — rant chan — ter,
 2a. Ki au — tre — fois — m'a fait —
 4a. Par koy mes — chans — re — nou — — — —
 2b. le — — — — doc mal — — — — trai — — — — re
 4b. vicle et re — — — — pai — — — — re
 5. C'est bons maus — ki cuer es — clai — — — — re,
 6. Mais A — — — mors — m'a — le ju trop — mal par — — — ti,
 7. Car j'es-poir et pens — — — par li —
 8. Trop — haut, — s'est — drois —
 k'il i — — — pai — — — re.

II. Et ne pour quant bien fait a pardouer
 Car quant dame est noble et de haut afaire
 Et biele et boine et gent set honorer
 Tant desiert mix c'on l'aint par essamplaire;
 Et doit estre deboinaire
 Enviers povre home en otriant merchi
 Sauve s'ounor, car jou di:
 Ki de boins est souëf flaire.

III. Et par mi chou le m'estuet comparer:
Mes cuers me laist, ma dame m'est contraire
Et vous, amors, ki de ma dame amer
Dounés talent autrui por moi mal faire;
Les gens ne se poeent taire
Et nis pitiés s'est repunse pour mi:
Asés de meschiés a chi
Ains c'on en puist joie estraire.

IV. Dame, vo oeil me font joie esperer
Mais vo bouce se paine de retraire
Le largeche k'il font en resgarder;
Par leur douçour vient en espoir de plaire
Car il sont en un viaire
Si amoureux si doc et si poli
C'onkes courous n'en issi
Fors ris et samblans d'atraire.

V. Pour si dous iex doit on bien lonc aler
Et mout i a pressieus saintuaire
Mais on n'i laist baisier ni adeser
Ne on ne doit penser si haut salaire;
Drois est c'on se fraingne et maire
Viers tel joiel et c'on soit bien nourri
Sans faire le fol hardi
De parole u de pres traire.

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